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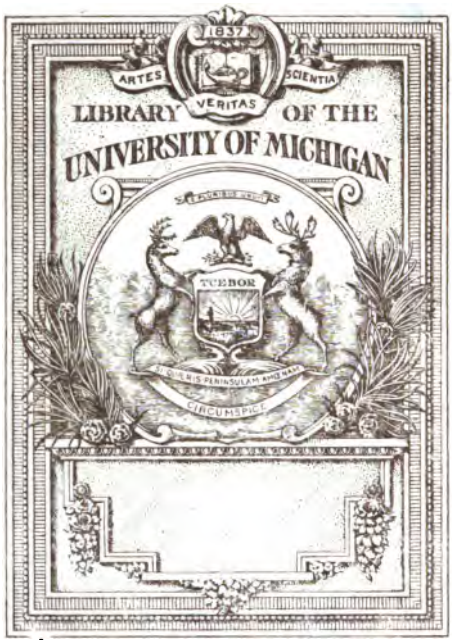


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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

JOHN VON MÜLLER, 1752 – 1809

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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# THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

## BOOK XXII.

THAT PERIOD DURING WHICH THE KINGS OF FRANCE POSSESSED A PREDOMINANT INFLUENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE.—A. D. 1648—1740.

### SECTION I.

#### LEWIS THE GREAT.

At the period when the peace of the Pyrenees put an end to the contest between France and Spain, (A. D. 1659,) which was a kind of appendage to the thirty years war, Lewis the Fourteenth was in the twenty-first year of his age. Cardinal Mazarin was still at the head of government, and now administered it in peace: the last civil war, if the commotions of the Frondeurs are to be called by that name, having been extinguished, he was neither employed in pursuing any immediate schemes, nor in looking forward to any far-sighted plans of policy; but was performing the farce to the great tragedy which was going on in England.

Lewis the Fourteenth was incited by ambition to the pursuit of a particular species of greatness, which he displayed in the course of fifty-four years, (A. D. 1661—1715) the period during which he reigned without a prime minister. This passion was the source of all the benefits that he conferred on the arts and sciences, as well as of his ruinous conquests; of the wars by which Europe was convulsed during so many years, and in the course of which the most solemn treaties were violated, and the most splendid exploits and the basest of crimes performed by his command. It was a great misfortune that this king was

ignorant and destitute of just principles; for the courage to undertake great and useful enterprises, provided they had also been such as would have added to his importance, would not have been wanting to him; and he would have made a better choice of generals and ministers in his latter years.

Although France had been in general so ill governed, and so frequently torn to pieces by civil wars, yet no province had been lost since the ancient wars with England; and an age of conquest had again opened its career. The military fame of Turenne and Condé was unrivalled, except by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the great elector of Brandenburg, and the imperial general Montecuculi. After the retirement or decease of these commanders, the marshal of Luxemburg displayed his extraordinary talents for marches and encampments, and was followed by the ingenious Catinat, and the clear-sighted marshal de Villars. Feuquieres, who was a prodigy of military learning, perfected the art of war by his rigid criticisms. War was a kind of mechanical employment to Maurice, prince of Orange, who raised it to an art: but Gustavus and the generals of Lewis placed it in the rank of the sciences. Louvois, the king's minister of war, rendered his master odious to foreign powers by his haughtiness; but in other respects he was extremely useful in the maintenance of order and obedience among the rival commanders, and was superior to many prejudices and petty passions. Vauban displayed an entirely new method of fortification; and the repose of these provinces, in which, during foreign wars, the exhausted forces of France were recruited, is owing to the fortresses which he secured by the most impregnable bulwarks.

The art of negociation was never confided to more able hands: what would Estrades and d'Avaux not have effected, if the prejudices of their master had not withheld them from following reasonable principles?

While the possessor of Potosi was becoming needy, the finances of France were administered by Colbert: "I am deeply indebted to your majesty," said the dying Mazarin; "but I think I am repaying a part of the debt by

making you acquainted with Colbert." The expenditure at this time exceeded the revenue by nine millions: the latter amounted to one hundred and fifty-six millions, and the naval force was almost annihilated. The king carried on two great wars during the administration of Colbert, and maintained a fleet of one hundred ships of the line: but the finances were afterwards exhausted by proceedings which took place subsequent to the death of this minister.

Colbert, who zealously endeavored to acquire the support of public opinion, (a fortunate object of ambition in a minister,) began to diminish the amount of many of the taxes, and to abolish several of the most oppressive. He was, however, not less mindful of the voice of posterity; and either on that account, or perhaps because he was secure of the success of his well-calculated measures, he did not suffer himself to be misled by senseless or interested censures. France now displayed, in a higher degree than ever, the astonishing powers of its numerous population, its ancient cultivation, its fine climate, its fertile soil, and the peculiar intelligence and taste of the nation: the brilliant undertakings of artists, and the most refined taste, were encouraged by the court.

When the minister, under the conviction that the French would be peculiarly successful in these pursuits, appeared to give them especial encouragement, he was assailed with the reproach that he governed the kingdom as though it was a great leasehold estate, whereas it had formerly been regarded as an extensive fief; that he gave precepts relating to affairs which were better understood by the private individuals whom they concerned; that while he forbade the exportation of corn, in order to reduce its price, and by that means to enable the manufacturers of France to produce their goods at a lower rate than they could be afforded by their rivals, he was in fact diminishing the productiveness of agriculture, the first of all the arts; and that it would be better to exert the courage necessary for a thorough reform in the finances, and in the manner of levying the taxes. Many of these remarks had an appearance of truth; others were the expression of party spirit, or of erroneous theories. The solution of the question,

whether the prohibition of exporting corn was a measure of sound policy, depends on a multitude of temporary and local circumstances; but we may safely conclude that the individual who gave his countrymen the pre-eminence and the reputation of excellence in delicate manufactures, who thus increased the national wealth almost without limits, and by such means improved the financial situation of the state, deserved at least the gratitude of his countrymen. We must, in judging of Colbert's merits, consider merely what he was, and what he might possibly have been, according to the degree in which the maxims of political economy were developed at that period: we must also recollect that he was the subject of a despotic and prodigal monarch; and was frequently compelled to abandon the most beneficial measures, and to procure immense sums in a short time, by the best means in his power, for the exigencies of the court and the army.

In addition to these instruments and auxiliary resources, Lewis employed other means of influencing the public opinion of his own age and of posterity, which had been utterly overlooked by Philip and Ferdinand, though employed by Pericles, Augustus, and the Medici. It is agree on all hands, that the motive of Lewis's actions was ambition: but he considered genius and intelligence as important instruments for the execution of his plans; and patronized authors who have transmitted his fame and their native language to the limits of time and of our earth, and in whose writings his envious rivals were compelled to read with admiration the brilliant commemoration of his praise. The influence of the latter extended to a much wider sphere than that of his armies: he rendered his nation the arbiter in matters of wit and taste; renewed the fame of Greece in a despotic kingdom, and attracted innumerable foreigners to the place in which every thing was full of the majesty of Lewis. In this respect Colbert manifested that he had either excellent advisers or an extraordinary understanding: he introduced a living tongue to the honors of the Latin language, in which men of learning had hitherto been accustomed to write; and opened the way for an entirely new career of public affairs, and for a more rapid progress of civilization.

We cannot help remarking, in recalling the names of Sidney, Locke, Newton, and Leibnitz, that the most important authors of the age of Lewis the Fourteenth were not only not his pensioners, but, for the greater part, appeared among his enemies. These were the men who exerted themselves for the well-being of human nature, who displayed extraordinary patriotism, and attained the greatest advancement in science: but it is the most eloquent rather than the most profound authors who obtain the greatest reputation and produce the most extensive effect, because their works are the most extensively read. Hence the art of pleasing, taught in perfection by the writers of good taste in the French nation, has been the chief means of opening a way by which the culture of later times has gained access to the heads and hearts of all classes of men.

This kind of merit belongs to Pascal, whose writings display at once all the vigor and refinement of which the French language is susceptible; to the majestic Bossuet, whose passions we are tempted to excuse in consideration of his genius, as Fenelon forgave them; to Fenelon, whose attractive graces would be borrowed by virtue herself, if she condescended to dwell among mortals. Who does not recall the antique elegance and correctness of Despreau Boileau; the lofty flight which Corneille took above the barbarism which surrounded him; the perfection of Racine; and the original genius of Moliere and La Fontaine? These distinguished authors stood in the place of the great poets who among most nations preceded the age of more accurate science, and kindled among them the spark of the light of philosophy. Their example, like an electric shock, disturbed the North of Europe from the uniform studies pursued in the universities.

## SECTION II.

### SPAIN.

(A. D. 1665.). A few years after the expiration of the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth, died Philip the Fourth of Spain; who had lost Portugal, Rousillon, Artois, and the Dutch Netherlands; and who was happy in not also forfeiting Catalonia, and in succeeding at length in reconciling the Dutch.

Since the expulsion of the Moors and the long course of oppression to which Spain had been subjected, the population of that country had evidently declined: the villages were abandoned, agriculture and manufactures neglected; the ancient conduits constructed by the Moorish kings in arid districts fell to decay, and their cisterns became choked up. Grenada, in which province the seed yields twenty-four fold, sometimes produced scarcely more than the subsistence of four months for its own inhabitants. The manufactories of silk, which had annually consumed 1,500,000 pounds of that material, and those of wool, diminished. The principles of commerce were so little understood, that the importation of raw silk was forbidden, while that of the manufactured article was allowed: for the only object of the proprietors of mulberry plantations, was to make the more industrious nations pay as dearly as possible for their silk. A. D. 1650.

Meanwhile the royal council employed itself in taking the patronage of Spain from the apostle San Jago, and conferring it on the holy Theresa: the ancient reputation of the apostle was nevertheless maintained, until the arms of the prince of Condé defeated the Spaniards at Rocroy; when it was thought advisable, at least, to give him the archangel Michael as a coadjutor. Under the reign of Philip the Fourth, A. D. 1644, the triumphal place of Grenada was adorned; it was dedicated not to Ferdinand and Isabella, but to the Virgin Mary, whose statue was irreverently trodden under foot by some circumcised blasphemers.

The kingdom, at the death of Philip the Fourth, fell under the factious minority of Charles the Second.

## SECTION III.

### PORTUGAL.

A. D. 1654. In Portugal also, Don Alonzo had succeeded to the throne of his father at too early a period; and displayed, in the fervor of his youth, a turn of thinking which the Jesuits could hardly hope to control with absolute sway. Father Vieira soon prophesied that his kingdom would not endure: Don Pedro, the king's more artful brother, was irritated against him, under pretence of secret ill services. The first minister, count Castellomelhor, a man of courage, virtue, and genius, was accused of a design to poison Don Pedro; and was compelled, together with his worthy friend, Henry of Miranda, to quit the kingdom. The first lord of the cabinet, Don Manuel Antunas, was afterwards removed out of the way. Souza Macedo, the secretary of state, a man equally venerable for his age and merit, was so ill treated by the queen, who had taken the part of Don Pedro, that even the council of state made representations on the subject; upon which the adverse party raised a tumult, stormed the palace of Souza, and compelled him to save himself by flight.

When the king had thus been deprived of all his faithful servants and abandoned to his own inexperience, the capital requested a convocation of the states of the kingdom. This measure, during the present disturbances, appeared to be attended with hazard; upon which the states entered into a confederation against his government. The queen betook herself to a convent; a physician, a surgeon, and some venal wretches, were bribed to spread a report that Alonzo was incapable of procreation; and a popular insurrection followed, in which Don Pedro was proclaimed regent of the kingdom.

The deserted king was compelled to sign an act, in which he renounced the crown "by virtue of his unlimited power." The jesuit Fernandez endeavored to persuade him that the infant was acting in the most brotherly manner, and was only anxious for the preservation of the kingdom;

that the whole of these misfortunes proceeded from the people; and that the moment of revenge would soon arrive. "Yes," replied the king, "vengeance will come upon you: and it will at a future time be seen, that I have not deserved this fate." A. D. 1667.

The dethroned prince lived sixteen years in castles, where he was closely guarded: his brother had the title of regent; but all power was really in the hands of father Acunha. Within seven days after the deposition of Alonzo, his wife, a princess of the house of Savoy, married his brother: thus the jesuits punished the imprudence of their enemy by the crimes of their friend.

Spain was unable to take advantage of these disorders.

## SECTION IV.

### GERMANY.

The second, or imperial branch of the house of Habsburg, found its power extremely circumscribed by the privileges which the peace of Westphalia had awarded to the states of the empire, and by the power which it conferred on certain great families.

The power of the empire and the freedom of the people had suffered equally.

In ancient times, the kings and other sovereign princes supported their expenses by the produce of their own demesnes: but after the emperors had lost that resource, the public exigencies were supplied by *Roman months*, a certain number of which were usually decreed by the diet. These *months* are a substitute for the contingent of men and horses, which every state was obliged by the ancient constitution to furnish, when the king of the Germans took his journey to Rome to receive the imperial crown. The contingents had been imposed according to the relative capabilities of the several powers, which had undergone so great a change since that period, that while some of them contributed hardly any thing, others were oppressed with a burden which they were scarcely able to bear: for the

same imposition continued to be levied from the possessor, even when the possession and the wealth were greatly diminished or indefinitely augmented. Every prince, when his provincial sovereignty was confirmed, wished for a splendid court and ministry; for which purposes the ordinary contributions were insufficient. The nobles at first relieved these necessities, by consenting to a tax on land, cattle, and goods, for a limited time, and with a provision that it should not be rendered a precedent for customary exactions in future. By degrees the excise was introduced.

The different countries were in an extremely exhausted state. During the war, Wirtemberg alone had paid 59,000,000 florins in extraordinary imposts, and had lost 58,000 families; and its territory now contained 249,000 acres of arable land, 40,000 acres of vineyard, and 24,000 acres of pasture, which were entirely uncultivated and abandoned. The town of Minden, containing 600 households, had paid in three years the sum of 338,000 imperial dollars; and Hameln had contributed 159,000. It is well known that at the conquest and plunder of Magdeburg, the whole town was burned; and that a population of 20,000 was diminished in one day, by an indiscriminate massacre, to 400 individuals. In many cities hardly any thing was to be seen but houses abandoned, and falling down, and the country around them lying fallow. The empire was in this condition at the assembling of the last diet, in the reign of Ferdinand the Third. A. D. 1653.

The majority of the princes appeared in all the pomp and display of newly elevated sovereigns: Ferdinand himself was indisposed and dispirited; John Philip of Schönborn, elector of Mayence, active in the exercise of his archchancellorship; Charles Caspar of the Leyen, elector of Treves, devoted to the emperor, but destitute of the greatness of mind which the affairs of Germany demanded at this crisis; the elector of Cologne, a Bavarian prince, was timid: a feeble old man was the regent of Bavaria during the minority of Ferdinand Maria; John George, elector of Saxony, in advanced age, vacillated between his devotion to the emperor and his zeal for Lutheranism, which was

extirpated by every possible method in the hereditary dominions; Frederick William of Brandenburg was jealous of the Swedes on account of Pomerania, and anxiously bent on the means of procuring supplies of money sufficient to increase his military establishment; Charles Lewis, elector palatine, was desirous of embracing this opportunity of enjoyment, and a master in the art of pleasing,—a talent which was very necessary in his situation. The crowd of princes and nobles were sufficiently occupied in settling points of ceremony, and in amusements.

The states obtained from this diet, the privilege of imposing on their own subjects all such taxes as should become necessary for the support of the fortresses, and for maintaining armies requisite for the public defence. In the succeeding diet they demanded to be protected against the states and subjects of their dominions, in the exercise of all powers established by custom, and that those classes should be held obliged to fulfil all the compacts and alliances of their master; that none of their complaints on such matters should be received either in the imperial court or in the aulic council; and that no ancient rights or decisions of the empire should be valid against this regulation. The emperor Leopold the First refused, indeed, to sanction this proposal; but all these, and still greater demands, became gradually the established custom, at least in the more extensive dominions, under the protection of the maxims of provincial sovereignty. Hence arose standing armies; the authority of the provincial states declined; the imposts were arbitrarily augmented, and partially distributed; and patriotism and public spirit extinguished.

The diet consisted of the very individuals against whom the nation had the chief cause of complaint; and the seats in the imperial tribunal were filled by assessors, who were in the pay of the same persons. The name of German freedom was usurped by an aristocracy which exercised the most mischievous influence on the condition of the people.

Even Frederick William was rather highly esteemed by his equals than beloved by his own countrymen; but his government was regretted, when succeeding princes, pos-

sessed of powers still more unlimited, governed in a yet more arbitrary manner. His heroic reputation on the other hand, produced in the people of Brandenburg an elevated public feeling, which was ultimately converted into national power.

A. D. 1662. The imperial diet, which still continued in existence, was soon afterwards assembled on account of a war with Turkey.

The aulic council had a short time before (A. D. 1654,) acquired its present form.

The empire raised itself by degrees, not indeed to its former freedom, but to a degree of importance in the affairs of Europe, which was determined by the position which the most powerful members in its confused mass chose on each occasion to assume.

## SECTION V.

### CHRISTIAN AND CHARLES GUSTAVUS.

Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, recalled the remembrance of the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus. His kingdom had been considerably enlarged, even before the peace of Westphalia: Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark, having suffered himself, in his advanced age, to be deluded into a war with the Swedes, whose military affairs were in an excellent state of preparation, was compelled to abandon to them, by the treaty of peace concluded at Bremsebroe, (A. D. 1645,) the provinces of Jemteland, Härjedal, and Halland. These incorporations, by which the Swedish territory was rendered more compact, gave that kingdom an increase of internal strength, commensurate with the influence which it had obtained in the affairs of Germany, by the acquisition of Bremen and Pomerania.

The Swedish nation, which was roused to activity in every department, became more enterprising in its commercial pursuits; and obtained by means of this treaty an exemption from the tolls on its commodities in the Sound and the Belt. The Swedes wished to be no longer de-

pendent on the monopoly of the Hanse towns, which returned the raw products of Sweden into their own harbors in a manufactured state; and they encouraged Germans and Dutchmen to settle in their country, whose industry and temperance might set an example to their own people. Sweden, however, never became so eminent in such pursuits as in arms: the superiority of Holland was too decided for competition; and England unexpectedly acquired the foremost rank among commercial nations.

These occurrences took place under queen Christina, who was heiress of the throne of Gustavus Adolphus: her subjects were great in the simple habits of soldiers and peasants; powerful by the force of virtue; and respectable for their patriotism; but not adapted for that splendid dissipation which was suited to the taste of the young queen. Christina, induced either by disgust, or by the desire of distinction, took the resolution of abandoning her government. A. D. 1654. The honest Dalecarlians in vain begged her to be content "still to be the fore-horse;" she became a catholic in order to be able to reside at Rome. She lived thirty-five years afterwards; but her restless spirit rendered every mode of life burdensome to her by turns: order and moderation never appeared of sufficient importance in the eyes of this celebrated woman, whose genius was of no ordinary stamp.

Her father's throne was now ascended by the son of his sister, Charles Gustavus, count palatine at Deuxponts Kleeburg, whose patrimonial inheritance consisted only of two castles, one hamlet, nine villages and a half, but who afterwards shook the whole north of Europe. John Casimir Vasa, king of Poland, protested against his succession to the throne; and Frederick the Third, king of Denmark, thought this a good opportunity for recovering the dominions which his father had lost. The young hero quitted Sweden, expelled the king of Poland, besieged Copenhagen; rushed like an irresistible mountain torrent over the territories of his enemies, and conquered the highly important and fertile provinces of Bahus, Blekingien, and Schonen, and the island of Rügen. Frederick renounced these countries in the treaties of Roschild and Copenhagen;

and John Casimir was well satisfied with having lost only the rest of Livonia, and the feudal superiority of Prussia by the treaties of Oliva, and with renouncing all claim to the throne of Sweden. A. D. 1660. Charles Gustavus would have proceeded much farther, but Holland would not allow any single power to acquire the sole mastership of the Baltic. This vexatious circumstance cost the hero his life, at the end of his thirty-eighth year. This was also the age of Gustavus Adolphus at the time of his death.

In consequence of the war which he had carried on (for the above-mentioned treaties were concluded after his death,) the elector of Brandenburg became independent duke of Prussia, and the king of Denmark absolute sovereign of his dominions.

## SECTION VI.

### THE NORTH, SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE TIME OF CHARLES THE TENTH.

Frederick William the Great had concluded an alliance with Sweden against Poland, in order to oblige the Poles to purchase his friendship at a high price; for it was contrary to his interests to suffer the kings of Sweden to become powerful in Poland. By this measure he obtained the dominions of Lawenburg and Bütow, in Cassubia, and the independence of his part of Prussia, which from that time became as flourishing and populous as it had been in the best times of the Teutonic order.

In Denmark, the unfortunate issue of the last war was ascribed to the factious spirit of the nobles. The nation desired a king with sufficient power to recall the ancient times, in which they were all-powerful in Scandinavia. Not only all the authority that a commander needs for the defence of a country, was conferred on Frederick the Third, but absolute power was at length declared hereditary in his family; and there remained no fundamental law except that by which he now regulated the succession.—A. D. 1660, Charles the Eleventh, who became king of Sweden in the

fifth year of his age, was ill-educated under the guardianship of his mother, Hedwig of Holstein. His instruction consisted in the subjection of his will, in perseverance in resolutions most unwisely adopted, and in the art of dissimulation. He was a man of great strength, and expert in bodily exercises; but he could scarcely read; he understood nothing of military affairs, and possessed no principles in matters of finance. The kingdom of Poland declined more and more. Polish Prussia was discontented because the appeals from the tribunals of that country were referred to foreign colleges, which paid no regard to the constitution of the country. The dissidents, comprising a considerable portion of the Polish nation, were irritated to the utmost pitch of indignation: an edict declared the doctrine of the Socinians, or Unitarians, to be a crime against God; and proceedings, such as might have been afterwards adopted towards the other classes of dissidents, were commenced against them. The king was unable to resist the Cossacks, over whom the Poles had no superiority in respect of military science; whereas the former had the advantage over their enemies in their habits of life. A. D. 1672. King Michael Viesnovitzky was obliged to promise the Turks an annual tribute of 22,000 ducats.

A. D. 1668. John Casimir, who was the last king of the male line of Vasa, had abandoned the crown in order to enjoy a more quiet and agreeable life, and died in a convent at Paris: upon which, after a long interval, the above-mentioned Michael, who was a native Piast, was elected to the sovereignty. A. D. 1669.

## SECTION VII.

### MOHAMMED THE FOURTH.

The padisha, Mohammed the Fourth, stood more in awe of the janissaries, who within the last twenty-seven years had murdered three of his predecessors, than of the nations against whom he was engaged in hostilities. The reduction of the power of this corps, seems to have been

his chief object in carrying on war during upwards of twenty years against the Venetians, and twice declaring it against the emperor Leopold. The emulation of the Germans and French was the principal cause of the decisive victory gained by the imperial general Montecuculi, on the banks of the Raab, near the village of St. Gothard, over the grand visier Mahmed Kiuperli, the most skilful officer in the Turkish service. The Porte was compelled by this occurrence to conclude the treaty of Temeswar, (A. D. 1664,) by which it gave up to the emperor, Szathmar-Nemethi, Neitra, and Gutta.

The Turks displayed before Candia that national vigor to which they owed their former greatness, and which even now only stood in need of proper guidance. The walls of this Venetian city were assailed by the largest pieces of artillery that had been seen in this century; and parallels were drawn in the trenches, a proceeding which had never before been adopted. The war cost them 200,000 men, but they at length made themselves masters of the ruins of Candia, and of the whole island of Crete. A. D. 1669.

It thus appears that neither the cabinet of the Escurial, nor the divided and enfeebled empire of Germany, was able to undertake any important enterprise against the ascendancy of Lewis the Fourteenth: his allies of Lisbon, Stockholm, and Constantinople were liable to stand in need of his assistance; but this was prevented by the weakness of Denmark, the decay of Poland, the hitherto inactive barbarism of Russia, the insignificancy of the power of Brandenburg, and the exhausted resources of the emperor and of the Venetians.

## SECTION VIII.

### SWITZERLAND AND HOLLAND.

A. D. 1663. The Swiss confederacy concluded an alliance with Lewis. This nation was too little unanimous, and the governments, which were becoming more aris-

tocratical, were not sufficiently secure of the support of their subjects, to excite any apprehension on the part of their neighbors: it was only necessary to respect their national independence.

The Dutch formed their constitution on the model of that of Switzerland. Frederick Henry, the old prince of Orange, equally respectable for his virtues and his political talents, and content with his constitutional authority, was now deceased. This event was soon succeeded by the peace of Westphalia; upon which the states-general reduced their army to less than thirty thousand men: this proceeding displeased the stadtholder, William the Second, the son of Frederick Henry, who ventured to imprison six of the deputies as they were repairing to that assembly, and endeavored to make himself master of Amsterdam. The prince, however, died in the midst of this idle and unworthy attempt at tyranny, and his son, William the Third, was born after his decease.

As the Dutch were now at peace, they resolved to abolish the stadtholdership: every city was governed by its own magistracy, and the affairs of the whole community were administered by the states-general. The manners of the people were republican: John de Wytt, the grand pensionary of Holland, who had the chief influence in the commonwealth, lived like a private citizen, attended by only a single servant. The admiral de Ruyter was never seen in a carriage; but was observed, on returning from a naval victory, to carry his own portmanteau from the vessel to his house.

Notwithstanding all this moderation, the affairs of the republic were not prosperously conducted; because, in the appointments to public offices, more regard was paid to the families than to the qualifications of the candidates. The military spirit was lost in the pursuits of commerce, and nothing remained of the ancient victories but the bare remembrance of them; by which Holland was so dazzled, that she ventured to offend even Lewis the Fourteenth.

## SECTION IX.

### CROMWELL.

The commonwealth of England, after the execution of the king, displayed a preternatural vigor, like the violent efforts in the paroxysm of a fever. A. D. 1653. Oliver Cromwell, who had overturned the throne, and who, under the title of protector, reigned with greater power than a king, vanquished Holland, and compelled the Dutch vessels to strike their flags to those of England. A. D. 1654. The northern courts respected his power, and the republics of Switzerland and Venice sought his friendship; Cardinal Mazarin acknowledged him, and did not venture, even after his death, to show respect to the exiled son of the unfortunate king. He took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards: the sheriff of Morocco treated him with reverence; and the rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel pleaded before him the cause of his people. Cromwell, who before his fortieth year was scarcely distinguished in the crowd of the country gentlemen, gave the English nation excellent laws, obtained for it power, fame, and tranquillity, and became the equal and the terror of the greatest potentates. The peaceable disposition of Richard Cromwell was not equal to the conduct of great affairs, and he quickly laid down the protectorate. A. D. 1659. Lambert was forming schemes for getting possession of the supreme power, when general Monk declared against him. Thomas Fairfax, the old champion in the cause of liberty, who had always endeavored to promote the freedom of his country, regardless of his private interests, perceived the design of Lambert, and rose up against him, seconded by all the strength of Yorkshire. As soon as the name of Fairfax was heard again in the field, a great part of the army hastened to his standard; and while the commission which had been nominated on the abdication of Richard Cromwell to protect the liberty of the people, were summoning the commons, Fairfax prevailed on Monk, who was either undecided or dilatory, to declare for the restoration of a regular con-

stitution. Charles the Second, son of Charles the First, with his two brothers, the dukes of Gloucester and York, were invited by a deputation to leave the Hague, and repair to England.

The parliament immediately acknowledged Charles the Second as the legitimate and hereditary sovereign of the realm. The administration of the government and the liberty of the people were regulated by new laws, designed to render the power of the throne and the influence of the nobility and of the people equiponderant in the constitution: the king was sufficiently powerful to be formidable to the enemies of the state, though not to his own subjects; and consistency and moderation pervaded every department of the state. The person of the king was declared inviolable, because a principal member of the constitution would otherwise have been deprived of freedom. It was also declared, that no law should be enacted without the express consent of all the three estates; that no law could exist without the concurrence of parliament, nor any parliament without the king. The lords were also reinstated in their former privilege, as hereditary members of the upper house.

The right of petition was confirmed to the people, but with limitations which were intended to prevent it from being exercised in an imperative or tumultuary manner. Every private person is secured by the act of Habeas Corpus from being imprisoned, either by the king or his ministers, or in any other manner than by the verdict of a jury of his peers. The judges were rendered more independent of the executive power; and all privileges arising from feudal claims, or from the practice of the star-chamber, abolished: in compensation for the former of which the king was presented with the customs, a tax upon wine, and fifteen pence upon every cask of beer. The excise was thus rendered perpetual; a tax which is considered by many authors as the most reasonable of all, but which is the most obnoxious to the people, from the manner in which it is levied, the number of persons employed in its collection, the vexations attendant on the right of search, and especially because the legal actions arising from its opera-

tion are not determined by a jury: the latter are supposed to be capable of deciding according to the ancient common law of the land; and the excise is of more modern origin than the common law.

The military department remained entirely under the control of the king: but it was enacted, that a militia of a certain force should be balloted in each district, every third year, and exercised in arms.

One of the most important points was the confirmation of the act of navigation, passed by Cromwell. The protector was induced by dislike of the sugar colonies, which were chiefly of the royalist party, and the parliament by jealousy of the Dutch, to pass a law by which all foreign ships were forbidden to trade with any of the British plantations and colonies; or to convey to England itself any other commodities than such as were the products of the country to which the vessel belongs: it was also added, that the third part, at least, of the ship's company, must be English subjects. This law created the naval power, the bulwark of England, and gave rise to that accurate knowledge of the ocean and that extensive commerce, the school of naval skill, which are at the same time the cause and the result of national industry, the great pursuit and the vital support of the English people. It was a thunderstroke to the northern powers and to Holland. But at length the Danes obtained by treaty permission to convey to England any of the productions which come to them down the Elbe; the Swedes, those of the sea-coast; and the Dutch, all such as pass through their hands in the way of commission.

The colonies arose to importance together with the fleet. Virginia acquired fresh life by the number of emigrants. New York and the neighboring islands were taken from the Dutch. A number of puritans who fled from persecution, and disdained to remain any longer in their native country since they had lost the ascendancy in her government, who were rigid in their private manners and intolerant towards opinions different from their own; the virtuous William Penn, who was disgusted with the wars

and corruptions of Europe, and anxious to provide an asylum for innocence; the restless Shaftesbury, who had perplexed the affairs of his own country by his ambition; together with Lord Baltimore and many other noblemen, impelled by the desire of riches, fame, or adventures, and discontented with the king, the nation, Europe, and themselves, betook themselves to North America, in order to live among Englishmen and according to English manners, out of England. Thus the gates of the new world were opened to the citizens of oppressed nations, who were intolerant of restraint. The spirit of the independents, as displayed in the earliest laws of Connecticut, showed what a character the colonies were likely to assume in future times. According to this code, all kings are the enemies of God and of human nature; and every citizen was obliged to take an oath, that he would never acknowledge a prince, or contribute to maintain a parson or a priest.

Great Britain and Ireland flourished under the dominion of the laws. The breeding of cattle was particularly attended to; which affords employment and subsistence for a greater number of individuals than agriculture. The commerce in wool advanced prodigiously: a quantity which, in the second year of Cromwell, was in Ireland worth two shillings, produced, thirty years afterward, an equal sum in annual interest. The exportation increased, in half a century, from six thousand to six hundred thousand pounds sterling. Under Charles the First the English post-office produced five thousand pounds; under Cromwell, forty-three thousand; at the conclusion of the reign of Charles the Second, eighty-five thousand; and in the beginning of that of George the Third, four hundred and thirty-two thousand.

## SECTION X.

### THE WAR OF 1667.

Soon after the death of Philip the Fourth, king of Spain, whose daughter Maria Theresa had been married to Lewis the Fourteenth, under the express condition that he should never advance any claims in her right to the succession, the latter invaded the Spanish Netherlands, (A. D. 1667,) under the pretext that the civil law of Brabant was more favourable to his pretensions than that of any other part of the Spanish dominions. Holland was engaged in a war against England, and Spain in a contest with Portugal; the enterprise of Lewis was totally unexpected, and consequently met with no opposition.

But a conquest of so great importance excited the jealousy of Great Britain, and Sir William Temple was despatched as ambassador to the Dutch. This negociator was a man of remarkably sound judgment in business, immovable in his principles, superior to all mean solicitude for his own interests, exclusively devoted to the public good, and of such well-known integrity, that he acquired universal confidence. He persuaded the states-general to violate a fundamental law of their constitution for the common interest. The concurrence of the Seven United Provinces was essentially necessary to all important political resolutions; and the French ministers calculated upon the tardiness of that body, and upon the prejudices and venality of some of its members: Temple, however, succeeded in making the states-general sensible how important it was to them and to all Europe to seize the present moment: they exceeded their powers at the hazard of their lives, and in three days concluded a peace and a treaty of alliance with England, persuaded the Swedish minister to accede to these transactions, and declared that their object was to restore the peace of Flanders.

A. D. 1668. These proceedings compelled Lewis the Fourteenth to lay down his arms. The United Provinces approved the magnanimity of the states-general; and the

energy of a Briton thus preserved the Netherlands to Spain, and her bulwark to Holland. In the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, France obtained some fortified towns, but the losses she sustained overbalanced the advantages: Holland, now convinced how formidable a neighbor she had in the king, withdrew from her connection, which had been maintained ever since the foundation of the republic, with the court of France; and all Europe received a lesson on the perfidy of the latter.

## SECTION XI.

### THE WAR OF 1672.

A peal of thunder from a cloudless sky, to use the expression of Sir William Temple, could not inspire greater terror than the irruption of Lewis the Fourteenth, now in alliance with Charles the Second of England, with an army of more than 80,000 men into the United Provinces, against which the English fleet began at the same time to commit hostilities. The king in four weeks had gained possession of more than forty fortified places of the Dutch Netherlands, Guelders, Utrecht, and Overyssel; and had approached within a few miles of Amsterdam. Charles, who was accustomed to deceive sometimes Lewis the Fourteenth, sometimes his parliament, his ministers, or his brother, and sometimes all of them at the same time, for the sake of procuring money, appeared now to be desirous of delivering the English from the commercial rivalship of Holland. Christopher Galen, bishop of Münster, who was in the interest of France, attacked the republic on the frontier of his territory, with the fury of a Vandal. No league existed at this period between Holland and Austria; and Sweden had been again attached to the party of France. The people saw the most distinguished statesmen in perplexity; the most important offices were ill administered, from the timidity and ignorance of their possessors; and the soldiers looked around them in search of a commander. The whole party of the house of Orange,

with reanimated vigor, and supported by many warm friends of their country, elevated William the Third to the stadtholdership of his fathers, and declared the office hereditary in the line of his male successors.

The prince was twenty-one years of age; full of desire to show himself worthy of his restored dignity; and all his thoughts were bent upon the rescue of his country. He had always been extremely laborious, temperate, reserved, profound, possessed of immovable presence of mind, of unconquerable perseverance, and full of zeal for the protestant religion: he was at the same time revered by catholic courts, not excepting the papal chair itself, as the defender of the liberty of Europe against Lewis the Fourteenth; his private life was marked by republican simplicity; magnificent when it was necessary to display himself; he was attached to few friends, but devoted to them warmly, unreservedly, and inviolably. His elevation seemed to give new life to the United Provinces: he soon found means to arrest the progress of the enemy, and to unite all the neighboring princes in a league against him. William had a great mind, and was free from suspicion, because his power was small. He excited the sympathy of the English nation against the war they were called to wage, in alliance with a king of France, against their brethren in religious belief; and Charles the Second was obliged to make a separate peace, and to offer his mediation toward bringing about a reconciliation of the other contending parties. A. D. 1674. The whole house of Austria, in Spain and in Germany, took up arms in the cause of Dutch liberty: but Frederick William of Brandenburg, the great elector, was the first of those who marched to the assistance of the young stadtholder, the nephew of his wife, and the friend of Charles Æmilius, his son.

Through the influence of the French ministers, the sovereignty of Holland was offered to William: but he preferred fame, and a life of exertion, to splendid slavery; and perceived the importance to which he might rise at the head of the enemies of Lewis. He contended against the power and military science of the French; and though he

lost almost every battle, he was so far from being conquered, that Lewis was obliged to restore to the Dutch all that he had taken from them. The United Provinces, in opposition to the wishes of their stadtholder, concluded the treaty of Nimeguen, the conditions of which were extremely disadvantageous to their allies. A. D. 1678. Spain forfeited Franche Comté, or Upper Burgundy; but Lewis was obliged to restore Charleroi, Binch, Courtray, Oudenarde, and the greater part of the territory of Ath. Frederick William was the last of the contending parties who laid down his arms. France had excited Charles the Second to declare war against him, (A. D. 1679,) contrary to the advice of the most intelligent ministers; and the elector inflicted a severe disgrace on the fame of the Swedish arms, by surprising them at Fehrbellin. This war cost the Swedes more than 50,000,000 francs: and, at its conclusion, Lewis with difficulty induced the elector to restore to them the conquered territories; by which the king offended, in the most sensible manner, the founders of the power of Brunswick.

The Swedes, habituated to victory, accused the nobles, as the people of Denmark and Holland had formerly done, as the authors of their misfortunes, in the first calamitous war, by the limitations which they had imposed on the power of the king. A. D. 1682. It was enacted, that the council of state should henceforward possess only a deliberative voice in public affairs: and the passions, once excited, proceeded to such an extreme in this direction, that the king was declared, by the clergy, citizens, and peasants, to be absolute and superior to all law. Charles revoked the crown estates which had been alienated to the nobility, under the pretence that the dignity of the kingdom did not allow the crown to be in a state of perpetual dependence on foreign subsidies, but in reality for the purpose of reducing the power of that body.

## SECTION XII.

### HISTORY OF THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE WAR OF 1688.

Lewis, after the peace of Nimeguen, established chambers of re-union at Metz and Breisach, for the purpose of reviving some pretended privileges in the territories which had been ceded to him: and while he alarmed the empire by this proceeding, he offended the pride of the Spaniards by compelling their ships to strike their flags to those of France. He made himself master of Strasburg; occupied Casal, the capital of Montserrat; disturbed the Swiss by erecting the fortification of Huningen, near Basel; and bombarded Luxemburg in the midst of peace. He treated the republic of Genoa in the most vexatious and humiliating manner; rendered himself odious to the papal court; and revoked the edict of Nantes, by which Henry the Fourth had permitted freedom of religion to the French Calvinists. In consequence of this measure he came to be regarded by the protestants as a second Diocletian; and deprived himself of 800,000 industrious subjects, who transferred their property, their talents, and their detestation of Lewis, to Holland, Brandenburg, and other protestant countries. At the same time, he menaced Cadiz, and prevented the pope from carrying into effect his plan of improving the police of the city of Rome.

William of Orange derived the most important advantages from these circumstances; because every proceeding of the haughty monarch tended to convince the powers of Europe of the necessity of combining against his dangerous preponderance. England was indeed at this time under a state of oppression; Vienna besieged by the Turks, and Hungary in a state of insurrection; while in Holland party spirit divided the nation, and blinded the enemies of William to such a degree, that they would even have been inclined to put the republic under the power of the king, for the mere purpose of deposing the stadtholder. Lewis, however, at length irritated this party against himself by

promulgating some commercial regulations prejudicial to their interests; while their banished brethren in religious profession, drew the most terrific pictures of the cruelty of despotism.

The court of Vienna was convinced by William, that the Turks could only be humbled by depriving the king of the power of making diversions in their favor, and of exciting the Hungarians to insurrection. They were, in reality, no longer formidable by their own resources: the janissaries had degenerated from their former state of discipline: many of their number had married, and were engaged in occupations in which they were unwilling to be interrupted by war: the commanders had nothing to do but to revere their master and be silent; for since the grand seignor had been accustomed to shut himself up in his palace, the only path to eminence was by unworthy flattery, and offices and dignities were sold by eunuchs: even the religion of the country had been corrupted since the time of Morad the Fourth.

A. D. 1683. Emerich Tököly, with other Hungarian noblemen, who had been irritated to the utmost pitch of resentment, especially by the oppression exercised on the protestants, invited Mohammed the Fourth to protect the constitution of Hungary. Kara Mustapha, the grand visier, marched with a numerous army toward Hungary; and in a short time arrived before Vienna, the garrison and citizens of which made an heroic defence, under the conduct of Rüdiger von Starhemberg. John Sobiesky, who had become king of Poland by delivering his native country from the disgrace of being tributary to the Turks; Charles of Lorraine, one of the best generals of the age, who had been expelled from his country by Lewis; with John George the Third, elector of Saxony; Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, and several other princes of the empire, saved Vienna from the arms of the infidels.

This occurrence was followed by a succession of defeats, which cost Mohammed the Fourth his throne. In order to investigate the treachery which gave rise to this war, a tribunal was established at Eperies, which destroyed the strength of the hostile party in Hungary. The throne of

that kingdom was now declared hereditary; (A. D. 1687,) and the emperor Leopold at the same time acceded to the alliance which had been formed by William of Orange at Augsburg, (A. D. 1684,) for the preservation of the freedom of Europe, and which was especially directed against Lewis the Fourteenth.

The necessity of some means of defence against the only prince who had it in his power to support the Turks; the desire of retaining the imperial crown in the arch-ducal family; and even the prospect of the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg, contributed to draw the court of Leopold into a protestant alliance. The imperial princes began to comprehend why Lewis gave himself less concern about them since they had come under his power. The house of Brunswick saw in the hereditary stadtholder, the childless husband of the heiress of Great Britain; and considered that he might also favor their pretensions. The great elector was systematically, and from inclination, devoted to him; and was the only person from whom William concealed no part of his views.

The troops of the elector amounted to 20,000 men, 6,000 of whom had gained the victory of Fehrbellin; and had pursued the Swedish general, count Horn, into Livonia. He had ten frigates, by the help of which he gained possession of Stralsund; and he had forcibly exacted his rights against the court of Spain, which owed him a debt of 2,000,000. From the most trifling regulation of the police of Berlin, to the most important interests of European policy, nothing was above and nothing beneath the care and intelligence of Frederick William. The same hand which planted the first cauliflower at Berlin, also designed the maxims by which his family has gradually raised itself to an equality with the most powerful dynasties: his system was pursued in its material points by his successor, (A. D. 1689); a prince who in many respects displayed a narrow mind, though capable of great exertion, fond of glory, and cautious in the council.

The hereditary stadtholder had acquired friends even in Switzerland and Italy. Moulieres, the French resident, had advanced the maxim, that the alliance with his master

allowed the Swiss to form no other connection of that nature; upon which the thirteen cantons, whose zeal was excited for their independence, laid aside their internal dissensions, and declared that they would rather sacrifice their alliance with Lewis than their rights of sovereignty. A. D. 1668. When Franche Comté became a part of France, the catholic cantons announced to the inhabitants of Bern, (A. D. 1675,) that they would henceforward assist in defending the Pays de Vaud as the bulwark of the confederacy: and when Strasburg fell, (A. D. 1681,) the senate of Bern established a commission for the investigation of all the imperfections and resources of the republic, which was from that time administered on a more systematic plan. The cantons began to cultivate the good will of the imperial court; and the stadtholder was revered in the protestant part of Switzerland, as the pillar of civil and religious liberty.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, entered into connections with him, and the great pope Odescalchi, or Innocent the Second, contributed to the common cause, both by his influence and his revenue.

## SECTION XIII.

### THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

Charles the Second of England, died in the year 1685; a prince who frequently deceived all parties, but who could scarcely be the object of serious hatred to his subjects. He knew how to gain the affections of those about him, by his affable and facetious manners, and even by his foibles: he was better pleased with the effusions of Rochester's licentious muse, than with the dissertations of his grandfather on the doctrine of passive obedience: he understood the art of captivating, though no man could rely on him.

His brother James was a zealous proselyte of the Roman catholic faith, and connected with the order of the jesuits: he was not destitute of useful knowledge or reso-

lution; but deficient in knowledge of human nature, and in the just estimation of his own powers. He had a revenue of 1,900,000 pounds sterling, and an excellent fleet; and the most powerful prince in Europe was his ally.

James sent an embassy to the pope, in testimony of his obedience: he invaded the constitution of the English church, infringed the constitutional documents, and the forms of right, and dreamt that he could compel the nation to confirm these innovations by an oath!

A purer flame of freedom arose at this era among the English than in the time of Cromwell: Algernon Sidney and the profound Locke had displayed the principles of the social compact; abstracted from which it is impossible to conceive a political constitution. The former, together with his illustrious friends, had perished on the scaffold; but the magnanimity with which that venerable patriot had defended with his last breath the rights of the people, still lived in the memory of the Britons. One part of the nation was enthusiastically attached to freedom, and another was chiefly inspired by hatred of the papal ceremonies; but all agreed that the king had no just or constitutional power to dictate to the nation in such matters. James had offended many of the nobles: and the displeasure of the king, which ordinarily annihilates courtiers, excited these men to resistance, and induced them to address themselves to the stadtholder, who was his nephew and successor, and the presumptive heir to the throne.

At this juncture, the queen of England bore a son; an event which produced different effects on the hopes of the catholics and protestants. The hereditary stadtholder, immovable in all contingencies, was confirmed in his resolution of rescuing England from the tyranny by which it was now oppressed: but he kept his own secret; and, preserving his usual character of tranquillity, reserve and impenetrability, he allowed the deluded king time to prosecute his offensive enterprises. Many of the English nobility repaired to the Hague, where William lamented their situation: he fitted out an armament; but contrived so completely to conceal his intentions, that Lewis the Fourteenth was scarcely able to comprehend them; and even when

he had indisputably ascertained them, could not persuade James of their reality.

A. D. 1688. James, almost at the same moment, received certain intelligence of the projects of the stadtholder, of his extensive preparations, and actual embarkation; of the secret desertion of part of the nation, and of the doubtful affection of the remainder. Abandoned to his terrors, without a single friend, recollecting the fate of his unfortunate father, and the misfortunes of the greater number of the Stuarts, he lost all presence of mind. William was detained by contrary winds: but this circumstance only prolonged the struggle between the contradictory resolutions taken by James; and the stadtholder landed on the 15th November.

This was a moment of portentous expectation: the Stuarts had held the sovereignty of a part of Great Britain for 318 years; and had governed the whole of the empire during three successive generations. The remembrance of the civil wars and of the tyranny of Cromwell, was not yet forgotten, and was recalled with terror. Discontent and compassion strove against each other with regard to the unfortunate king, who remained shut up in his palace, and knew not in whom he might venture to confide. The stadtholder, invariably firm and impenetrable, who was now arbiter between the factions of England as well as between the powers of Europe, seemed resolved to return home, unless the nation should declare itself.

This moment put an end to the dynasty of Stuart, in consequence of the renunciation of allegiance which the whigs made in conformity with their principles; and which the king obliged the tories to adopt by his cowardly desertion.

The stadtholder summoned a convention, which declared, "that as James the Second had infringed the original compact between the king and people; had manifestly endeavored to overturn the established constitution; and finally, had entirely quitted the kingdom, the throne was vacated." A. D. 1689. The same convention, when constituted a regular parliament in the usual manner, decided, "that king William the Third, and queen Mary the

Second, his wife, should hold the government during their lives, and transmit it to their heirs; that no catholic prince, or husband of a catholic princess, should ever become king of Great Britain or Ireland, but should be considered as dead, and that the title should pass to the next heir."

On the following day, the parliament delivered to the king the bill of the ancient, just, and indefeasible rights of the English people; an act which gave a glorious termination to the struggle for freedom, which had been maintained by the nobility and commons during 474 years.

## SECTION XIV.

### THE WAR OF 1688.

The war carried on by the members of the confederacy concluded at Augsburg, had commenced on the Rhine two months previously to this revolution. The succession to the electorates of Cologne and the palatinate gave occasion to this contest. Lewis wished to place Ego of Fürstenberg, who was entirely devoted to his interests, in the electorate of Cologne; and the wife of the duke of Orleans, who was his brother, advanced her pretensions to the palatinate.

A. D. 1680. Charles Lewis, the son of the unfortunate king Frederick, an active and intelligent prince, was dead; and his son, the elector Charles, was the last prince palatine of the house of Simmern. A. D. 1685. Another branch of the palatine family flourished at Deuxponts, whose territory consisted chiefly of the hereditary estates of the counts of Sponheim and Veldenz. An ancestor of this family, named Wolfgang, a very powerful prince in the sixteenth century, had left the principality of Neuburg, situated on the Danube, to his eldest son Philip Lewis; Deuxponts to his second son John; and the castle and territory of Birkenfeld to his third son Charles. The last is the ancestor of that family which is now denominated from Deuxponts and Birkenfeld; from John were descended the heroic kings of Sweden, Charles Gustavus and

Charles the Twelfth; and Philip Lewis was father of the prince palatine Wolfgang, who was converted to the catholic faith in the contest for the succession of Juliers, and whose son Philip William inherited the electoral palatinate of the Rhine in his old age, after the death of the elector Charles. Charlotte Elizabeth, the sister of the elector Charles, and duchess of Orleans, was the princess whose claims served Lewis as a pretext for invading the palatinate.

A. D. 1689. The inhabitants still call to remembrance the day on which it was announced that the whole palatinate, containing an immense number of flourishing and populous towns and villages, must be abandoned by its inhabitants, because the army of His Most Christian Majesty had received orders to lay the country waste with fire and sword. This instruction was by no means a hasty measure, the effect of oversight or surprise; nor, however great the horrors of its execution, was it carried at all beyond the intended limits: similar measures were adopted four years later, after the death of Louvois; and Henault on this occasion remarked, with the utmost composure, that the king had ordered the palatinate to be burned, for the purpose of defending the frontiers of his kingdom with a desert. All the cities were razed to their foundations: and eighty years after this period, Heidelberg, Spires, Frankenthal, and Worms, still exhibited the ruins of their ancient outer walls: Heidelberg was laid waste with fire and sword: the graves of the electors were not even spared; and at Spires the ashes of the emperors were dispersed.

The commanders and statesmen who had conferred on the king the title of "the great," were mostly dead: he had none to guide him in the choice of worthy successors in their stead; and court intrigues, guided by the clergy, induced Mad. de Maintenon, the well-meaning confidante of the king, to advance men of inferior abilities to the most important posts, and to depress persons of spirit and talent. The finances felt the loss of Colbert; and the state groaned under the burden of its debts. All Europe was leagued against the king; the commanders of his enemies' forces had learned from his own to conquer;

and a naval engagement of three days, near La Hogue, gave the French fleet a blow which it did not entirely recover for many years. Lewis himself, who was now sixty years old, began to lose some of his former ardor, and to perceive that a contest maintained by an individual against all nations, must at length exhaust him. He had no ally except the Turks, whose power was not sufficient to prevent the emperor from acting on the Rhine: the attachment of the Swiss was doubtful; and the king of Sweden, as a member of the body politic of Germany, was now among the number of his adversaries.

France endeavored to obtain peace during three years, while the allies seemed desirous to protract the contest. Great Britain, however, at length wished to bring it to an end; for it subjected that nation to an annual expenditure of six million pounds sterling. William had attained to that pitch of greatness and reputation which was the object of his wishes; his health was impaired; the party struggles which followed the revolution were vehement, both in the parliament and in the nation; and he perceived that the need in which he stood of money for the expenses of the war, rendered him dependent on his people. All the powers of Europe awaited with apprehension the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg, and all wished for a moment of repose. The peace was concluded at William's abode, the castle of Nieuburg, near the Hague, (A. D. 1697,) and was denominated, from the neighboring village, the treaty of Ryswick.

William was by it acknowledged as king of England; John William, son of Philip William of Neuburg, as elector palatine; and Leopold Charles, son of the hero who assisted in the deliverance of Vienna, was restored to the inheritance of his ancestors, the duchy of Lorraine. Pignerol was restored to the duke of Savoy; Kehl to the margrave of Baden; Freiburg, in the Breisgau, to the house of Austria; and almost all that had been usurped by the chambers of re-union, to the different princes. The king was indemnified for these sacrifices by Saarlouis, Longwy, and Landau.

## SECTION XV.

### THE HISTORY OF THE REMAINDER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

From this period, the system pursued by the court of Versailles appeared to intelligent men to be more moderate and reasonable; but habit, or what is called experience, which is the only spring of action in all cabinets of the ordinary stamp, caused this change long to remain unperceived by the greater number; and Lewis accordingly was still represented by those whose interest it was so to describe him, as equally ambitious and formidable as ever.

King William, the arbiter of the great political interests of Europe, was of a different opinion, and wished to secure Europe against the recurrence of war. As the islands of Great Britain have no plan of aggrandisement on the continent, and may safely contemplate changes in the relations of the different powers, provided they be not very important, the balance seemed to be judiciously placed in the hand of a prince who was able to maintain it, without being either inclined by interest, or indeed sufficiently powerful, to make a mischievous use of the influence which that office gave him.

The public debt of his kingdom amounted to twenty-one millions five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds sterling; a burthen which terrified the nation: it was reduced by taxes; and at the commencement of the 18th century amounted to only sixteen millions.

A. D. 1699. William also mediated the peace which terminated the sixteen years' war between the Porte and the imperial court. Mohammed the Fourth had been deposed from his throne, and was now dead; and under his pious or hypocritical brother Solyman the Third, the good fortune of the Christian arms had been less injurious to the Ottomans. But the army of Achmed the Second was defeated near Salankemen, at the mouth of the Theiss; Mustafa lost the battle of Zenta, and prince Eugene pursued him with irresistible ardor; while Francesco Moro-

sini pressed the Turks on the side of Greece, and acquired the surname of the Peloponnesian, by the conquest of the Morea on behalf of Venice. Eleven years after the first application for peace on the part of the Turks, a treaty was concluded at Carlowitz in Sclavonia, under the mediation of William. The whole of Peloponnesus, the island of Ægina near Athens, and many places on the coast, were confirmed to the Venetians: the important principality of Transylvania, Ofen the ancient capital of Hungary, the islands of the Theiss and Marosch, with many frontier places, were left in possession of the house of Austria; and the resisting party in Hungary was now taught that they could no longer expect any assistance from the pope.

In the fifty-eighth year of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, king of France; in the forty-third of that of Leopold, emperor of Germany; and in the twenty-ninth since the period when king William first appeared on the theatre of European politics; while Don Carlos the Second in the Escurial, and Don Pedro the Second at Belem, still seemed to wield the sceptres of Spain and Portugal, though with feeble hands; in the commencement of the reign of Charles the Twelfth king of Sweden, and of Frederick the Fourth king of Denmark; when Frederick Augustus had just succeeded to the heroic Sobiesky; and while Peter the czar of Russia was, with his kingdom, emerging with terrific might from the gloom of barbarism, Europe entered upon the 18th century, in a state of profound peace.

## SECTION XVI.

### THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

Treaties of peace have been often broken, because the temporary difficulties of courts and the impatience of ministers had caused them to be concluded with too much precipitation. The succession to the throne of Spain was not mentioned in the treaty of Ryswick, although all the

contracting powers would immediately have agreed on that point, as they all stood in need of peace.

The eldest daughter of Charles the Second was Maria Theresa, the wife of Lewis the Fourteenth; the younger, Margaret, had married the emperor Leopold, and by him she had one daughter who had become electress of Bavaria. Anna, the eldest daughter of Philip the Fourth and aunt of Charles the Second, was the mother of Lewis the Fourteenth and of his brother Monsieur, duke of Orleans. Her sister Maria was mother of the emperor Leopold, and grandmother of Joseph, king of the Romans, and of the archduke Charles.

Catherine, daughter of Philip the Second and sister of Philip the Third, was great-grandmother of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy.

Soon after the restoration of peace, a treaty was concluded at the Hague, under the mediation of king William, by which the contracting powers consented to acknowledge Joseph, elector of Bavaria and grandson of the younger sister of the king of Spain, as the successor of that monarch; and agreed that the pretensions which France and Austria might entertain should be compensated by the transfer of some separate provinces of that monarchy. The balance of power seemed to be happily provided for by this arrangement, when the whole plan was disconcerted by the sudden death of Joseph, (A. D. 1699,) who was yet in his minority.

A. D. 1700. The powers were again induced by William the Third to enter into an agreement at London, by which it was determined that, as Anna and Maria Theresa, the queens of France, had formally renounced the throne, Charles of Austria, grandson of the infant Maria, should succeed the Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg as king of Spain; but that the hereditary dominions of that family in the empire, with Bohemia and Hungary, should never be allowed to be united under one head. Indemnifications were at the same time appointed for the court of France.

To these proceedings, neither the consent of Charles the Second, nor that of the Spanish nation, was asked.

The ministers of Austria had long possessed the chief influence in the cabinet of Madrid, as the representatives of a branch of the royal family: the sister of the emperor, as the king's mother, had the principal share in the direction of affairs; and the court was frequently thrown into confusion by intrigues, the results of which were often tragical. In proportion as the diminishing strength of the king appeared to bring him nearer to the grave, so much the more violently was his timid mind agitated by the artifices and furious measures of the different parties. He was inclined to do justice, but knew not on whom he might most securely rely as a guide in the path of equity. After a long period of hesitation, Charles signed a testament, by which he declared Philip of Anjou, grandson of king Lewis the Fourteenth and second son of the dauphin, as his successor, under the condition that Spain should remain an undivided and independent monarchy; and that if Philip should not consent to this stipulation, the crown should devolve on the archduke.

This testament, after long deliberations, was accepted by Lewis the Fourteenth, who thus annihilated all the treaties which he had entered into with the other European powers relative to the Spanish succession. William showed himself disposed to be satisfied even with this new arrangement, provided Philip the Fifth would renounce his title to the crown of France.

A. D. 1701. James the Second, the banished king of England, died just at this juncture, and left a son who was regarded by a great part of the English nation as suppositious, whom the parliament had excluded from the succession, and whose pretensions had been passed over in silence at the treaty of Ryswick. Lewis the Fourteenth acknowledged this pretender as James the Third, king of Great Britain and Ireland; by which he offended at the same time the national pride of the Britons, and William, who was all-powerful in Holland, and was the soul of European policy.

The emperor Leopold now obtained assistance in his opposition to the claims of Philip the Fifth: the archduke, his second son, was declared king of Spain by the title of

Charles the Third; and the succession war was thus commenced. The archduke was supported by the right of primogeniture, by the archducal family, viz. the second line of the house of Habsburg, the empire, and the maritime powers. The means by which universal peace might have been maintained were now no longer the objects of attention; for the idea that France was once more in the road toward universal monarchy, furnished sufficient occupation for the minds of men.

Philip was acknowledged as king at Madrid and in Castile; and the archduke in Arragon, Catalonia, in the Balearic islands, and by many of the nobles.

## SECTION XVII.

### THE NORTHERN WAR.

While the south of Europe was engaged in the war of the succession, which lasted twelve years, the North was excited by the family dissensions of the house of Holstein, to a contest, which was not terminated in less than twenty.

When Christian the Third, king of Denmark, had formally divided the patrimonial inheritance with his brother Adolphus, duke of Holstein, the affairs of the cities of Holstein and the noble fiefs, both ecclesiastical and temporal, continued to be administered conjointly: but when the course of time, and difference of views and dispositions, had estranged the kings and dukes from each other, a multitude of disputes arose, which gave occasion to separate compacts, and to the final arrangement of articles for a general peace. Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden, took the part of the duke of Holstein against Frederick the Fourth, king of Denmark, who had no idea that the youthful warrior would be able to follow up his plans with decisive effect.

These movements appeared to Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, to afford a favorable opportunity for the recovery of Livonia; to which he was invited by the malcontents of that province. His general

and minister, count Flemming, marched towards its confines; but he found the Swedish government forewarned of and prepared for his attack. Charles, with the vigor and rapidity of lightning, compelled the astonished king of Denmark to conclude a treaty of peace in Travendahl; and afterwards attacked Poland, and declared war against her ally the czar of Russia. The flames of discord were thus rekindled from the farthest North to the straits of Gibraltar.

## SECTION XVIII.

### THE WAR OF THE YEAR 1702.

A. D. 1704. In the southern war, from the day on which prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough defeated the army of Lewis, near Höchstädt, or Blenheim, the French arms seemed to be finally deserted by that good fortune which had so long been their attendant. France was suffering dreadfully under the prejudices and passions of the king, and from the effects of his haughty and persecuting spirit. Holland had defied Lewis the Great; and it was now the question whether he should not merely abandon the party of his grandson, but should himself precipitate that prince from the throne of Spain. His finances were in the utmost state of exhaustion and disorder, and were no longer capable of furnishing clothes and provision for the army.

In this extremity, the king manifested a degree of perseverance that justified his claim to the surname of "the Great;" and the war was accordingly prolonged, until a party hostile to the duke of Marlborough acquired the ascendancy at the court of London. The battle of Blenheim was lost chiefly through the fault of the king, who did not afford sufficient support to Marshal Villars: the defeat of Ramillies would probably have been avoided, if opportunity had not been given to the enemy to bring the greatest part of his force to act on the flank of the army, where the general who was the least capable, commanded

on the part of the French: the battle of Malplaquet afforded a degree of consolation after such a succession of disasters, inasmuch as it was not totally lost. After all these misfortunes, added to the ruin of his allies, Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, and the family of the Gonzaga at Mantua, the sudden death of the emperor Joseph the First, (A. D. 1713,) and the removal of Marlborough from the army, (A. D. 1714,) enabled Lewis to conclude the treaties of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden.

His grandson remained king of Spain; but Italy and Flanders, two of the brightest jewels in the crown of that monarchy, were alienated. Milan, Mantua where the interests of the Gonzaga were sacrificed, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands, were transferred to Charles, who since his brother's death was no longer called the Third of Spain, but the Sixth of the emperors. Victor Amadeus of Savoy obtained Sicily with the title of king.

As Philip the Fifth was obliged to renounce his claim to the throne of France, the order of succession customary in that country was introduced into Spain, that his family might not lose by the change. He was compelled to leave Gibraltar in possession of the English; this fortress having been surrendered by the marquis de Salinas to eight thousand English and Dutch troops, as they were conducting the archduke to Spain. In order to prevent Gibraltar from becoming, in the hands of that nation, a commercial depositary, it was stipulated that no trade should be carried on with Spain from that quarter, and that nothing should be permitted to be sold to the garrison but the bare necessaries of life, in exchange for ready money: also that no Jew or Moor should be allowed to make that fortress a place of permanent residence; that its harbor should not be open to Moorish ships; and finally, that it should never be alienated without first offering it to sale to the court of Spain.

This acquisition, so flattering to the national pride of the English, was really valuable, as it placed the entrance of the Mediterranean in their power, and rendered their friendship important to the northern nations, who carry on trade in that sea.

The maritime powers left Spain in possession of her American dominions, and of her monopoly of commercial intercourse with them: the former, because they were certain to impart less political importance in her possession than in that of any other nation; the latter, because nothing could possibly be better calculated to retain the Spaniards in their state of torpor, which was supposed to be a source of advantage to other nations. The English guaranteed the possession of these countries to the court of Madrid, on condition that the latter should engage not to allow any nation whatever to trade with them; and never to alienate any of its possessions in the East or West Indies, or in America. England only retained a privilege, by which her ships were formerly permitted (1670) to take shelter in the harbors of those coasts, when driven thither by stress of weather, and to take in the necessary provisions. The English and Dutch had already, at an earlier period, been allowed to sell the products of their East Indian possessions in Spain.

The court of London appeared to enter into the genuine spirit of British policy, the chief maxims of which are, that a balance of power should be maintained among the states of the continent; but that an extensive commerce is the proper method of increasing the moderate domestic resources of Britain to an indefinite extent. The national debt amounted to fifty millions sterling.

## SECTION XIX.

### PORTUGAL.

Don Pedro continued to sit on the throne of Portugal, of which he had deprived his brother, until the middle of the Spanish war. A. D. 1706. He was conscious of the weakness of his own intellect, and therefore excessively suspicious of men of talent. He was sometimes impelled by rage to reward the opposition which his minister ventured to make to his favorite ideas, with severe blows; after which he would beg pardon on his knees.

A. D. 1703. During his reign, Methuen, the English ambassador, concluded the treaty with the court of Portugal, by which the favor granted to the importation of Portuguese wines, was compensated by the permission to sell the woollen manufactures of England in Portugal, without impediment. In consequence of this arrangement, the Portuguese fell into a state of perpetual dependence on the manufacturers of England, with whom their own countrymen were unable to compete: they were henceforth, in reality, only renters of their Brazilian dominions, the gold of which flowed into the dexterous hands of their allies, whom they found to have advanced too far beyond them to allow any prospect of successful imitation. Foreign gold passed also through their hands; but this commerce enriched others, who paid the expenses of freight, insurance, and the risks of a contraband trade, (for the exportation of gold was prohibited,) with manufactured commodities. Such circumstances could not fail to bring the manufactures and navigation of the English into a state of extraordinary activity.

Don John the Fifth, the son and successor of king Pedro, was, like his father, devoted to superstition and debauchery.

## SECTION XX.

### SPAIN.

In Spain, Philip the Fifth employed himself in completing the subjection of his people: after having effected this object, and abolished the ancient constitution in Arragon, he imposed a much heavier annual tribute on that province than it had formerly paid; and commanded that the inhabitants should raise it among themselves at their own expense, and should be accountable to the court for its punctual delivery. This regulation, which was intended as a punishment, delivered the Arragonese from the yoke of thousands of burdensome financial officers; and gave them the incalculable advantage of being subjected to

only a single impost, which when it was equitably assessed, in proportion to the property of every individual, could not be burdensome to any.

Barcelona resisted the attempts of the king for eleven months, and Majorca for two years; at the end of which periods the liberties of those countries were abolished: but the new dynasty was necessarily rendered an object of detestation from the beginning. The districts in the vicinity of Gibraltar were forbidden to carry provisions to that fortress to market, because the government feared the effects of an intercourse with protestants: and thus that part of Spain was deprived of a source of profit by which its exertions would have been reanimated, and which now fell into the hands of the Moors.

In the principal points of policy, the kings of the house of Bourbon pursued the maxims of the preceding dynasty in their utmost extent. Under the reign of Charles the Second, (A. D. 1672,) ninety unfortunate wretches were exhibited at one *auto-da-fe* in Granada, many of whom were burned alive: and, under Philip the Fifth (A. D. 1725,) three hundred citizens of the same town, together with the provincial governor Mendoza, were arrested in one night, on account of a suspicion of their attachment to Mohammedanism; they were confined many months in heavy irons; two-thirds of their property were confiscated to the inquisition, and one-third to the crown; many of their number were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and others transported to Africa. Fifty-two heretics were burned at Malaga, and seventy-four at Arcos: the edict was renewed, (A. D. 1732,) which makes it "a point of conscience, to inform against one's-self, or any other person who harbors an inclination to the Jewish, Mohammedan, or Lutheran religion; who neglects the worship of the saints, or worships or maintains a connection with the devil; who is disobedient to his catholic majesty; reads the bible in his native language; has two wives at the same time; practises astrology; or delays to give information against a person guilty of any of these crimes, even if the informer himself were the criminal." Under Philip the Fifth, the great question relative to the patronship of

Spain, was decided by a compromise, which decreed that the apostle James was to remain the principal protector, but that St. Januarius was to be worshipped as in only one degree inferior.

The authority of the states of the kingdom was more and more diminished. The duke of Medina Sidonia was executed on account of his attachment to the German branch of the family of Habsburg; and the town which bore his name, and was the principal seat of his power, was destroyed: and the duke of Medina Celi was obliged to give up the port of St. Maria, because the affection manifested by the inhabitants of that place to his person, gave the court cause of disquietude.

The king was sunk into the lowest depths of melancholy, in a state of absolute servitude, under his confessor and the queen; and desirous of nothing but of laying down the sovereignty, which he once actually did. Every individual in the court was absorbed in his own interests; not a single thought was bestowed on the chief magistrate of the kingdom.

## SECTION XXI.

### NAPLES AND SICILY.

Charles the Sixth received the kingdom of Naples from the hands of an inactive administration, which had been more than once in danger of forfeiting its authority, and had alienated the greater part of the crown lands; and which had constantly derived its support from imposts granted by the Eletto della Piazza del Popolo, and the representatives of the twenty-nine ottine of Naples. If the duke of Guise (1647) had conducted himself in a more rational manner, or if the French fleet under Vivonne, (1674) had afforded more effectual assistance to the malcontents of Messina, both the Sicilies would have become free states under the protection of France.

The new government, which was obliged to found its power on the abolition of abuses, made regulations which

offended the clergy and their Romish chief, as indicating a spirit of innovation.

## SECTION XXII.

### THE COURT OF ROME.

At the period when Philip the Second confirmed the despotic authority of the kings of Spain, the court of Rome began to govern the ecclesiastical state in a more absolute manner. The constitutional authority of the cardinals declined; the nephews of the popes amassed riches, and the apostolic treasury was involved in debt.

Odescalchi, who became Innocent the Eleventh, a great man both in his character of pope and of prince, and the avowed enemy of the disgraceful nepotism of the popes, redeemed the greater part of the debt of the state, and reduced it to forty millions of scudi. He left two millions in the treasury; (A. D. 1689,) but the streams which had formerly flowed thither from all parts of the catholic world, were now in a great measure dried up.

The ecclesiastical state had been increased under the pontificate of Barberini, or pope Urban the Eighth, by the dukedom of Urbino; (A. D. 1636,) and under that of Panfili, or Innocent the Tenth, by Castro and Ronciglione. A. D. 1639. Francesco Maria Rovere, a hero and a man of learning, was the last of the ruling family of Urbino; and Castro was acquired by conquest from Odoardo and Rainutio Farnese, dukes of Parma. A. D. 1649.

A. D. 1700. Cardinal Albani ascended the apostolic chair in the last year of the seventeenth century, under the title of Clement the Eleventh. Both the emperor and Lewis the Fourteenth were extremely attached to the church; but even Lewis dared not openly to sacrifice the liberties of the Gallican church, which had been declared under his authority, to ultramontane principles.

During the Spanish War, the powerful confessor of Lewis the Fourteenth induced the pope, through the influence of the jesuits, to favor the claims of the house of

Bourbon. The pope, indeed, conscious of his impotence, endeavored to conceal this preference: but when it was manifested by his allowing Philip the Fifth to levy a tax of one-tenth on the estates of the clergy, the emperor Joseph the First, the son of Leopold, dissolved the amicable connection which he had hitherto maintained with Rome. Enraged that Clement should venture to open to the enemy of his family the resources of a kingdom, the possession of which was still undecided, Joseph sent his army into the dominions of the church, and laid them under contribution; while the wealth of the clergy was seized at the same time, at Milan and in other places.

Clement published a monitorium, forbidding all good Christians to obey these commands of the emperor: "the sword of apostolic justice," said he, "shall burst the fetters which the potentates impose on the church!" Joseph now sequestered all the property of the church in the state of Milan and in the kingdom of Naples: and count Dhaun, the viceroy, caused an ecclesiastic, who was a spy, to be dragged from the sanctuary and hanged. The emperor took possession of Comacchio, in the territory of Ferrara: the pope threatened him with eternal damnation if he continued, in the spring of his youth, to infringe upon the sacred rights of the church: "As thou, rebellious son," said he, "wieldest arms against God, I will fight thee both with the censures of the church and with the weapons of this world."

A treasure had been deposited in the Monte St. Angelo at Rome, by Sextus the Fifth, as a resource against the most extreme emergencies; this the pope employed for the purpose of levying soldiers. The outposts of the Germans extended themselves from Ferrara, which they had blockaded, toward Rome; and the pope was compelled to have recourse to negociation and to disarm his militia. Comacchio was not restored to the holy see until after the decease both of the emperor and pope, and with a reservation of certain claims upon it.

The king of Sicily was, from a very remote period, the *legatus a latere* of the apostolic chair; and his office, which united the papal to the royal authority, affords a specimen

of the *genuine monarchy*. At this period, the acatapani of the city of Lipari, were laid under excommunication by a bishop of that place, because they had obliged one of his people, of whose station they were ignorant, to pay the excise imposed upon some pulse. The marquis de las Balbases, who was viceroy, reversed this sentence: and the pope declared for the bishop, because as Sicily had no established sovereign, and was besides engaged in a war, this appeared a favorable moment to suppress that privilege of the kings. The bishops of Sicily made common cause with the pope; and Clement ventured to impose the great bann of the bull *in cæna domini* on all the assessors of the royal tribunals, on all the adherents and soldiers of the crown, and finally on the whole of Sicily; and to promulgate a comprehensive declaration in opposition to the document confirmatory of the royal proceedings.

When Victor Amadeus became king of Sicily, and endeavored to effect an arrangement of the subsisting differences, Clement replied, in the spirit of the ancient senators, "When he submits, we will see what can be done!" The states solicited the court to maintain its rights; the pope declared the bann against the whole diplomatic body: and the ministry expelled such of the prelates as took part with Rome, and appealed to a future pope who might be more accessible to fair representations.

All the kings of the catholic world looked upon the cause of Victor Amadeus as their own: the nuncio at Madrid was reminded of an expression of Philip the Second; "It is not my province to investigate the source whence the monarchy of Sicily is derived, but to know that it belongs to me!"

The advocate-general of the parliament of Paris publicly complained of a bull in which the right of confirmation was denominated heretical and schismatical: this privilege was in fact so entirely established in custom, that when a viceroy of Naples announced to Ferdinand the Catholic, that an ecclesiastic had been arrested for promulgating a bull without an *exæquatur*, the only answer which he received from the king was, "Why did you not immediately hang

him?" Victor, however, lost Sicily, and the pope died before the contest was decided.

A. D. 1713. This pope was also the author of the famous bull "*Unigenitus.*"

Cornelius Jansen, a pious bishop of Ypres, had written a celebrated work, more than seventy years before this time, in favor of the opinions of St. Augustin, concerning the free-will which men are believed to possess, and the grace of God. The same author had attacked cardinal Richelieu; in consequence of which, the jesuits who were friendly to the latter, procured a sentence of condemnation on the book from the censors established at Rome; and the cardinal-minister offered a reward for its confutation. The Gallican church, which was in a state of opposition both to Rome and the court, appeared inclined to favor Jansen: his book was not generally read; but Hubert his adversary comprised the leading points of its contents, as he conceived them, in five propositions, which cardinal Mazarin sent to pope Innocent the Tenth, accompanied by a request that he would be pleased to declare how the sentence of condemnation was intended to affect these declarations. The jesuits incited him to undertake this exposition: but the parliament of Paris refused to acknowledge the bull which was accordingly promulgated. The enemies of the jesuits denied that the original work contained the propositions which were said to have been extracted from it; and in order to remove the scandalous appearance of this contradiction to the head of the church, they declared that they acknowledged the infallibility of the pope *in via juris;* but that they did not hold that dogma *in via facti* for a principle of the church. Cardinal Mazarin, in hopes of settling the affair, begged the pope to issue a bull, which should command all persons to believe that these propositions are contained in Jansen's work. It is said that no copy of that book had yet found its way to Rome, and that a leaf had been inserted into the volume transmitted to the pope, in which the contested propositions were distinclty affirmed. Lewis the Fourteenth, however, at length made his personal appearance in the parliament, and commanded that the bull should be received. The

pastoral letters of the French bishops clearly show how few of them were acquainted with the work even by name. Discourses were preached, in which it was asserted, that the pope must be obeyed, "even if he should command to deny Christ; because he always takes the burden of guilt upon himself." But these contested questions had a disastrous effect on the administration of Lewis, as they occupied the attention of persons of the most distinguished talents. The royal confessor, from hatred to cardinal Noailles, the archbishop of Paris, in his old age persuaded the king to undertake a negociation in Rome, which produced the constitution *unigenitus:* this was a new condemnation of the Jansenists, and was especially directed against the remarks made by Quesnel, a friend of the cardinal, in his new testament. The Jansenists refused to submit, and Noailles was on the point of being degraded, when Lewis the Fourteenth died: "I have tried all possible methods," said he; "may God give you peace, and may his punishment fall on those who have deceived me!"

Such was the spirit of the court of Rome in the beginof the 18th century; and thus its pretensions shattered the fabric of its power, and prepared the way for the emancipation of the nations under its control.

## SECTION XXIII.

### THE OTHER ITALIAN STATES.

The grand dukes de Medici enjoyed the happiness of ruling over a flourishing territory, and a people whose manners had attained the highest pitch of refinement.

Charles of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, whose ancestors had obtained this sovereignty by the influence of the French, was put under the bann of the empire during the depression of the military power of France, and died in poverty: (A. D. 1708,) the estate of his cousin the prince of Castiglione was sequestered by the imperial court on the accusation of his subjects, (A. D. 1713): the family of Gonzaga was deprived of its hereditary dominions during

this century, and its whole territory, together with Milan, transferred to Austria.

Venice had suffered extremely from the expenses incurred by its famous defence of Candia. After the six millions of sequins provided by the republic against extraordinary emergencies were expended, it was found necessary to exact a new land-tax; pardons were sold to exiled persons; many titles were disposed of; two hundred young men were admitted into the great council before the legal age, for the sum of nine millions of sequins; and the excise and salt tax were augmented. But the affection and veneration for the republic and its reputation were so great, that the means by which an expenditure of one hundred millions was supplied excited no discontent among the people. A hundred Candian families, who preferred Venice to their subjugated country, were admitted into the great council. The count della Torre, who wrote a work on Venice about this time, supposed that the ruin of their maxims of state policy would be the consequence of this enormous accession of numbers: but the system was so powerful, and the administration so watchful, that the Candians, instead of introducing their own principles into the great council, on the contrary adopted those of Venice; and the whole body became animated with the desire of revenging its wrongs.

Francesco Morosini, who had displayed himself a hero in Candia, took vengeance on the Turks by the conquest of Peloponnesus.

A. D. 1667. Ragusa was slowly recovering from the ruins of the great earthquake, in which six thousand of its citizens had been buried, and the remainder dispersed: the great council was assembled at the moment of the shock, which consequently destroyed nearly the whole of the nobility. Marino Caboga, an impetuous young man, who had killed his uncle in the senate, was in prison, when the walls of the building were shattered by the earthquake. While flames were bursting out on all sides, and robbers were forming themselves into bands, Marino Caboga adopted more worthy views: he summoned the remaining

citizens to rescue the site of their native city, recalled the absent, and restored Ragusa.

After Candia was subjected to the Turks, the Mainottes, the descendants of the Lacedemonians, were incessantly disturbed, both by land and water: thousands of them resolved to emigrate, and were conducted by Stephanopulos to Genoa. They were provided with land on the island of Corsica, with cattle, and implements of husbandry; in return for which they subjected themselves to an annual payment of a tenth of their produce, and to a tax on every house: they became as industrious cultivators and as faithful subjects as any of the Corsicans.

## SECTION XXIV.

### VICTOR AMADEUS.

The family of Savoy became the greatest and most illustrious of all the powers of Italy. Piedmont had been advancing in civilization and commerce ever since the time of Emanuel Philibert: Charles Emanuel rendered himself important, though not beloved, by his incessant artifices: Victor Amadeus acquired a part of Montserrat by the peace of Cherasco; but after his premature death, the prosperity of the state was interrupted by turbulent periods of minority.

A. D. 1672. Victor Amadeus the Second, in the wars of Lewis the Fourteenth, always preferred danger to tranquillity, provided the former afforded a prospect of advantage. In the treaties of peace, Pignerol, Perouse, Pragelas, Fenestrelles, and Exilles, were transferred to him: he destroyed Pignerol, (A. D. 1697,) which from its situation was frequently a burden, in the stead of which place Brunette was hewn in the rocks. A. D. 1703. He acquired on the side of Milan, the rest of Montserrat, the valley of Sesia, and the cities and territories of Alexandria and Lumello. A. D. 1713. He became king of Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht.

He was instructed by general Starhemberg in the art

of deriving considerable resources from a small state; and of giving importance to his army by the introduction of regular discipline. General Rehbinder reduced the militia, which consisted of 30,000 men, to a third of that force, as they could not be rendered formidable by their number alone. The utmost regularity and simplicity were introduced into the financial department: each province sent a quarter of its annual tribute every three months, and the necessities of every office were as frequently supplied. After all the wars in which he was engaged, Victor left the revenue twice as great as he found it. Nothing that appeared capable of becoming important in the course of time, or from the influence of example, seemed unworthy of his attention: he did every thing in his power to introduce manufactories at Mondovi, and at other places, from which he hoped to obtain clothing for his army. His forces were mustered every month in each province; at which time every regiment received its full pay: and at the end of the year, the commanders were obliged to return such sums as had not been distributed at the muster-rolls of every month. He caused those estates to be revoked, to which the nobles could not establish a right by original documents. He regulated the administration of justice by the Vittorian code; and it was exercised with so much impartiality, that his illegitimate son was, during his reign, condemned to death.

## SECTION XXV.

### SWITZERLAND.

Religious dissensions arose to such a height of exasperation in Switzerland, that the duty of mutual defence, the fundamental principle of the perpetual league, fell into neglect.

The Swiss, however, avoided to offend Austria, because that proceeding would have endangered the Spanish subsidies, and because the opposition party in the empire favored the protestants: a much larger number of the Swiss

received French pensions, and were thus in some measure restrained from hostile treatment of the protestants, because France supported the latter as the party in opposition to the empire. The wisest part of these proceedings arose from private considerations: the governments were destitute of principles, even for the administration of the interior: a war took place between the peasants, (A. D. 1653,) and another between the citizens of the catholic and protestant cantons (A. D. 1656,): the pride and avarice of the magistrates gave occasion to these contests, which had the good effect of producing some reformation in their conduct. In the last dispute, Rapperswyl was besieged in vain by general Verdmüller; and the Calvinists lost the first battle near Vilmergen: extreme exasperation was the effect of these disturbances.

The pride of Lewis the Fourteenth recalled the cantons to a juster feeling of the proper object of their attention; and for a time they appeared to follow the dictates of sound policy.

The defects of legislation were compensated by the purity of private manners.

Among the cities, Zurich appeared to be the most exposed to disturbances. No other body of citizens was so immediately concerned with affairs of state, or took so lively an interest in public business: but the violence of passion occasionally disturbed the clear and sober views with which public business should be conducted. In Lucerne, the laws were less exposed to change, and the parties extremely powerful: the latter state tended to oligarchy, while the former became more and more democratical.

The heads of the ruling factions in Lucerne treated their subjects according to the dictates of their own caprice; which produced much discontent among those who had formerly enjoyed a greater degree of liberty, and had attached themselves to that city. The spirit of the tribes, which were at the same time societies of tradesmen, was extremely troublesome to Zurich: it appeared as though each individual thought himself less a citizen of Switzerland than of the town or country in which he resided, and less

connected with the latter than with the tribe of which he was a member; while he seemed willing to sacrifice all other wishes and considerations to this meaner interest.

The pastoral districts remained nearly in the same state: the names of the administrators changed in proportion to their popularity, and to the fortune of their rivals; but the mischievous effects of demagogical influence were less observable in the cantons than in the common sovereignties, because in the former it was necessary to treat the people with respect.

The maxims of the government of Bern have been treated of in another place.*

Such was the situation of Switzerland when Zurich and Bern gave ear to the incessant complaints of the inhabitants of Toggenburg against the abbot of St. Gall, who was sovereign of that district. The count de Luc, ambassador of Lewis the Fourteenth, is said to have fomented this disagreement, in the hope of furnishing the cantons with employment, and thus preventing them from affording active assistance to the enemies of France; and it is asserted that they were encouraged to expect that Franche Comté would be delivered up to them, in the same manner as the Dutch had acquired as a bulwark a line of fortresses in the Belgian districts. In the civil war of the ancient catholic cantons against Zurich and Bern, the former were defeated at the battle of Vilmergen, (A. D. 1712,) and afterwards compelled to conclude a treaty of peace at Aarau, (A. D. 1713.) This compact established a laudable equality of religious rights, in the districts governed conjointly by the catholic and protestant cantons; but infringed on the spirit and letter of the fundamental laws, by separating the territory of Baden and the lower independent jurisdictions, which lie between the dominions of Zurich and Bern, from the co-regency of the catholic cantons. This conquest of some of the cantons over others, which was without an example ever since the fundamental compact of the confederacy, induced the catholic cantons to conclude a per-

* Considerations sur les Maximes du Gouvernement de Berne, which appeared in the Essais Historiques, published at Berlin, 1781.

petual alliance with France, (A. D. 1715,) in which the restoration of their possessions was assured to them, though it never took place.

## SECTION XXVI.

### GERMANY.

Lewis the Fourteenth had irritated the protestant party in Germany, which was otherwise sufficiently well disposed toward him, by a clause in the treaty of Ryswick; in pursuance of which it was stipulated, that all the places which had been usurped by the chambers of restitution, were to retain the catholic mode of worship when restored to their former masters.

A. D. 1705. The emperor Joseph the First was of a lively character; free from prejudices, and actively engaged for the welfare of his monarchy. But the oppressive maxims of some of the preceding reigns had diminished the sources of wealth to such a degree, that the Austrian provinces, notwithstanding their natural fertility and advantageous situation, yielded not more than a third of their present [1784] produce; and it was impossible to provide for the expenditure of a war without subsidies.

A. D. 1713. Michael Apafy, the last prince of Transylvania, died and left his dominions, agreeably to the peace of Carlowitz, to Charles the Sixth. Six hundred places were in the possession of native Hungarians; more than four hundred belonged to the Szeklers, or descendants of the Ongres, or Petschenegers; and two hundred and sixty were reckoned to belong to an ancient colony, called the Seven Seats of the Saxons: the Walachian population recalled by many circumstances the long dominion of Rome: the wandering Armenians had been collected into a colony by Charles the Sixth; and lastly the gipsies, a race of men expelled from Multan by the arms of Timur, or perhaps formerly driven by the pressure of migrating hordes from a nearer chain of moun-

tains,* had traversed this region, in tents, for more than four hundred years. Transylvania contained in all more than a million of inhabitants: and the country, which is in itself beautiful, is so situated, that Gabor and Rakozy appeared to be very important points. Twenty thousand Kurutzes, without any foreign assistance, had disturbed the latter years of Leopold.

A. D. 1701. Frederick the Third elector of Brandenburg, assumed the royal crown of Prussia: and although his administration was conducted under the influence of favorites often changed, yet the system of his father and of the French colony was never abandoned in Berlin: Prussia afforded the example of a government which sought the sources of preponderant power in freedom of religion, and in the advancement of useful arts.

Frederick, as duke of Cleves, made himself master of the duchy of Gelders: the emperor Charles the Fifth had induced William, duke of Cleves, who was elected to that dignity by the states of the country, to transfer the sovereignty to him; and the family of the emperor became extinct at the death of Charles the Second, king of Spain. At the treaty of Utrecht, Frederick obtained the inheritance of the town and territory of Gelders, as heir of the family of Cleves; and at the same time acquired the counties of Lingen and Meurs, the lordship of Heristhal, and many other estates in Westphalia and Holland, as grandson of Frederick Henry, prince of Orange and stadtholder of the united provinces: king William the Third during his life had recognized the rights of this prince to his acquisitions.

This connection also contributed to procure the county of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, for the king of Prussia. The lords of Chalons, princes of Orange, had been lords paramount of that country for more than four hundred years (A. D. 1288,): but they had in vain attempted to gain possession of the sovereignty after the decline of the family of the counts, (A. D. 1373,) although they had never acknowledged the title of the heirs of the female line who were descended from the counts of Freiburg, the

* Ζυγανοι are often mentioned by the later Byzantine authors.

margraves of Baden, and the dukes of Longueville. After the lapse of two hundred and fifty years, the estates of the country, on the death of the last heiress of Longueville, (A. D. 1707,) declared in favor of Frederick, king of Prussia and heir of the family of Orange, who confirmed the liberties of the people. A. D. 1708.

The house of Brunswick Lüneburg, descended from Henry the Lion, obtained the electoral dignity and the reversion of the crown of Great Britain. In the last war but one of Lewis the Fourteenth, Ernest Augustus, duke of Hanover, offered to support the emperor with his people, as well as all other resources in his power; and having promised to give his vote in favor of the election of an archduke to the imperial crown, Leopold created him the ninth elector. The states of the empire and the pope, who could not behold with satisfaction any increase of the influence of the protestants in the imperial elections, long resisted this appointment: but the important services which this family rendered to the empire and the emperor, and the splendor of the crown which it was shortly to acquire, at length procured the recognition at Ratisbon, (A. D. 1708,) of George, the son of Ernest Augustus, as elector, under the condition that he should give his vote with the same freedom as the eldest of that body; but that in future no electoral hat should be disposed of without the consent of the electors, princes, and states.

A. D. 1689. Ernest Augustus, after the death of Francis Julius, had come into possession of Lauenburg, that last remnant of the power of Anhalt in Lower Saxony: he also gave his daughter to the duke of Brunswick Zell; and presented the count of Plate, of whose wife he was enamored, with the county of Hallermund.

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, resembled Lewis the Fourteenth in his love of splendor and of the fine arts, as well as in vanity and licentiousness; and exhausted his industrious subjects of the electorate, as the king impoverished those of his monarchy. But the former, as their means of restoration were less considerable, felt the ill effects for a longer space of time; and as the court preferred the arts and the wit of Frenchmen and Italians, the

talents of the Germans were rather depressed than encouraged and developed, even by its dissipation; and nothing remained but the remembrance of a vain and transient lustre, instead of the impression of a period favorable to German literature. The latter was entirely the work of individuals.

This elector became king of Poland.

A. D. 1605. But Ernest, duke of Gotha, who, during the continuance of the thirty years' war, and after its conclusion, was the father and saviour of his people, effected objects of greater importance, although his sphere of action was much more confined. A. D. 1675. He not only extended the boundaries of his hereditary dominions by the just and peaceable employment of such means as the supreme directing Providence had put into his hands; but contributed, both by his examples and institutions, to form his people to the practice of the domestic virtues. He was the ancestor of those dukes who still have their residence at Friedenstein, built by himself near Gotha, at Coburg, Hildburgshausen, and Meiningen.

A short time after the families of Brandenburg, Brunswick and Saxony had acquired crowns, Frederick, hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, husband of queen Ulrica Eleonora, the sister of Charles the Twelfth, ascended the throne of Sweden during the life of his father, the landgrave Charles, who, by the reception of the French Calvinistic refugees, introduced civilization and activity into his capital, and splendor into his old German court.

## SECTION XXVII.

### SWEDEN.

The decline of the ascendancy of Lewis the Fourteenth is not more celebrated or remarkable, than the consequences of the misfortune experienced by Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden, at Pultowa, after a wonderful succession of almost incredible victories. He had compelled Denmark to reinstate the dukes of Holstein, the

elector of Saxony to renounce the crown of Poland, the emperor to restore the exercise of the protestant faith in Silesia, and the czar to adopt defensive measures; and now had it in his power to turn the balance in the war of the Spanish succession, or to oblige the belligerent nations to make peace.

Instead of employing his influence in this direction, Charles suffered himself to be led astray into the deserts of the Ukraine, (A. D. 1709,) where he was reduced to the greatest distresses, and was obliged, under circumstances extremely favorable to the czar, to contend against a superior force, with an army whose only advantage consisted in the enthusiasm with which they were inspired for their heroic leader. This band of valiant warriors fell in a manner worthy of its reputation: the fruit of nine years of victory was lost; Charles took refuge in Turkey; and the splendid actions which he had already furnished to the page of history, were now succeeded by a species of heroism scarcely to be found in the fictions of romance: this period of his life displays him in a light extremely interesting as a man, but makes him inexcusable as a king.

Charles spent five years in Turkey, in the most obstinate violation of the rights of hospitality, and returned to his exhausted states only to levy new wars against Denmark, Prussia, Russia, and England. The king of Prussia had taken possession of Pomerania as far as the Peene; and George the First had bought Bremen and Verden from the Danes, who had conquered that territory during Charles's absence. The ranks of the Swedish army were now recruited with youths, some of whom were not more than fifteen years of age: the labours of agriculture were in many districts abandoned to the women: every individual was required to deliver the half of his stock of provisions to the magazines: the king purchased iron from the Swedish mines for state paper, in order to exchange that commodity in foreign countries for gold and silver; and the value of the paper currency sunk in a few days from three dollars to a few shillings: the bank had previously bought them up, and had enriched itself in the midst of the universal ruin.

During four years Charles contended gloriously, but in vain, against fortune, who now seemed resolved to punish him for the abuse of her favors. He had effected a reconciliation with the czar, had entered into the views of the ministry of Spain, and was on the point of kindling the flames of war in Europe anew, when he fell before Fredericshall, (A. D. 1718,) by a ball which, as there is strong ground for believing, was fired by the hand of one of his own attendants.

Charles Frederick, duke of Holstein, the son of his eldest sister, was in the camp, and thought himself so certain of succeeding to the crown, that he made no movement to secure its possession. The Swedes, however, who dreaded the despotic maxims in which he had been educated, and the renewal of hostilities with Denmark on account of the disputes subsisting between his family and that kingdom, cast their eyes on Ulrica Eleonora, the younger princess, who had no hereditary claim to advance, and who would therefore be obliged to accept the royal authority under such limitations as should appear expedient. She married the hereditary prince of Hesse, (A. D. 1719,) who was a good soldier, a ruler of moderate character and intelligence, and who was neither formidable nor odious to any of the neighboring powers.

Ulrica Eleonora renounced the absolute power bestowed on her father by the late alteration in the constitution of Sweden. The danger attending it had been rendered strikingly manifest by the disorders which had occurred under the reign of Charles the Eleventh, notwithstanding the pacific disposition of that prince, and by the boundless sacrifices made by his extraordinary and heroic son, in pursuit of his military enterprises.

A. D. 1720. The queen transferred the government to Frederick her husband: the diet confirmed the crown to them and their children; but in case they should die without natural heirs, the ancient right of election was reserved to the nation. Frederick took an oath, by which he renounced all idea of restoring despotic power: and it was resolved that Sweden should remain a free and indivisible kingdom, no part of which should be alienable

by the king, even in the way of appanage: that the king should be a protestant, devoted to the Lutheran creed; that he should neither carry on war, enact laws, levy taxes, alter the value of the currency, expend the sums destined for the defence of the country on any other objects, nor act in any manner contrary to the established regulations with regard to manufactures, commerce, or naval affairs, without the concurrence of the council of state and of the national diet.

The nobility (the main-spring of whose movements, count Arvod Horn, was the chief author of these laws,) consisted of more than two thousand families: the ecclesiastical order was composed of the archbishop of Upsal, ten bishops, three superintendents, and three universities: the class of burgesses comprised the inhabitants of one hundred and three towns, whose number was to the whole population of Sweden as one to thirteen. The peasantry also appointed deputies to the diets.

The national diets were to be regularly assembled every three years by appointment of the king; if he should refuse to issue the summons, by the council of state; and it was enacted, that in case the council should neglect to issue its summons, the diet should assemble spontaneously under the authority of this law: extraordinary meetings might be at any time called, at the pleasure of the king and council. Each estate was to assemble separately, and declare its opinion concerning the business under its consideration. Each noble family, each dignified member of the clergy, each consistory, each town and district, had a vote; large cities had two voices, and the capital had four. The diet was the national representation: it possessed the whole power of the country itself; and its full powers therefore appeared to be mere formalities.

The council of state, consisting of sixteen senators, managed all the important affairs, in conjunction with the king: frequently indeed without his concurrence, and even in opposition to his will. The chancery-council was composed of secretaries of state.

A treaty of peace with Denmark was now concluded at Stockholm, by which Sweden was obliged to renounce her

object of freeing the Sound from the tolls exacted by the government of Copenhagen. The kings of Prussia and England, as electors, retained their acquisitions. In the present situation of Sweden she could have suffered no considerable loss, if Bremen had henceforth ceased to afford her an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Germany: but the kingdom sustained a more important privation in the peace of Nystadt, (A. D.1721); by which the fertile districts of Livonia and Esthonia, together with Wiborg and Ingermannland, were abandoned to the czar. Specie, which had almost entirely disappeared in Sweden, was the only indemnification which that kingdom gained by these treaties: the court of Denmark agreed to pay six hundred thousand rix dollars; that of Prussia two millions; Hanover one million; and the czar two millions. The czar also allowed, that when the harvests in Sweden should be deficient, grain might be exported thither from Livonia, to the value of fifty thousand roubles, free of duty; and promised to arrogate to himself no influence in the internal affairs of the kingdom. The terrible war carried on in Poland against Frederick Augustus terminated without a treaty.

Sweden, in the course of its victories, had manifested that nothing was wanting to render it capable of maintaining a distinguished rank among the nations, except (what it is impossible to impart) internal resources; while nations, among whom these capabilities existed in superabundance, have frequently acted a very inferior part on the theatre of the world.

## SECTION XXVIII.

### RUSSIA.

While Sweden was engaged in an unavailing contest with her fate, the genius and energy of the czar Peter displayed to the world the spectacle of a great empire suddenly awaking to life, and which wanted nothing but a con-

sciousness of its own powers, to give it a distinguished place in the rank of the most powerful monarchies.

Alexej, the father of Peter, had already prepared the way for the enterprizes of his son: he was the first czar who established regular posts; he erected manufactories, and the czarina clothed herself in the productions of Russia. During his reign the Russians first learned to sleep in beds: he forbade the consumption of veal, because he wished his subjects to suffer their calves to grow to maturity. The exportation of grain and wax diminished, because a greater quantity of the former was consumed at home in the manufacture of beer and brandy, which were no longer imported from foreign countries; while more of the latter was required for the service of the churches, the number of which augmented in proportion to the increase of population. Alexej also established manufactories of glass, and caused surveys to be made of situations fit for the erection of iron works. But the spirit of monopoly gave rise to exclusive privileges which cramped the efforts of advancing industry. The czar had reserved several branches of commerce to himself; his treasure consisted chiefly in furs, salt, and grain, and the salaries of his officers were usually paid in raw produce: he was the common victualler, and the houses of entertainment were kept for his account.

Alexej confirmed all the nations of his empire in the freedom of religion. He governed the monks, and made use of the strelitzes, in cases of necessity, to keep them in order. A book of laws was printed: and the czar reduced some of his troops to the discipline and tactics of Europe.

A. D. 1676. This great prince left three sons: Fedor and Ivan, the children of Maria Misloslafsky; and Peter of Natalia Narischkin; Sophia was a daughter of his first wife.

Fedor, in the seventh year of his reign, undertook and executed a deed which manifested the power of Russian despotism. The nobles of ancient families refused to serve under any officer of an inferior degree of nobility; or even to submit to the authority of the chief magistrate of a town or district, if the grandfather of the latter had been in a

station inferior to that of their own. The nobility founded this claim on the rosrad, or registers of families, which from time to time were confirmed by the czar. Fedor caused all these documents, on one occasion, to be collected together; and while the proprietors were expecting that they should be revised and ratified, he caused them all to be thrown into the fire: the patriarch delivered a sermon, and all family privileges were at once abolished. This measure was adopted by the advice of the Knäs Wasilej Galitzyn, a minister distinguished by extraordinary talents and great virtues.

As Ivan was blind, and of extremely deficient capacity, and as Fedor had no children, he, on his death-bed, (A. D. 1682,) nominated his youngest brother Peter as successor to the throne. But Sophia, supported by the strelitzes, excited an insurrection, in which the advisers of this arrangement were put to death, and Ivan, together with Peter, was proclaimed czar. She first declared herself regent, and then autocrat; and afterwards, in concert with her lover Tscheglovitoj, the commander of the strelitzes, determined on the destruction of her youngest brother: Peter, however, took refuge in the monastery of the Trinity.

On this day, which was the 8th of August, 1689, the young czar became acquainted with captain Le Fort, a native of Geneva. The representations of this officer made him acquainted with the other countries of Europe, and excited in his youthful mind an extreme desire of order and civilization, and a hatred of barbarism.

His first exploit was the destruction of the authority of Sophia, whom he imprisoned in a convent. A. D. 1696. After the death of Ivan, he adopted a measure of which no monarch had hitherto given an example: he descended from his throne in order to learn how to govern; and after a journey which he made to Archangel, in consequence of his predilection for naval affairs, he undertook his great tour through the polished countries of Europe. A. D. 1697. But the history of that tour, of his actions in peace, and of the lessons in the art of war which he obtained from his enemy Charles the Twelfth, are too universally known

and celebrated to make it necessary to detail them in this short sketch.

We must, however, not judge of the czar on his own independent merits alone, without regard to the circumstances in which Russia was placed by the progress of other states in civilization and the useful arts: it was necessary that this country should earnestly endeavor to follow their steps in the path of improvement, or, from its inferiority, it would inevitably have become, like Poland and Turkey, the mere sport of their caprices.

At the accession of Peter, the revenue amounted annually to twenty-five millions of livres: but he opened such a multitude of sources of wealth, that at his death they were equal to one hundred millions. The emblem which he chose for himself, a half-finished statue, hewn out of a marble rock, cannot but be considered as extremely appropriate. The work which he had undertaken required to be prosecuted with unremitting industry, because he could not safely calculate on the perseverance or intelligence of his successors, or on the effects of the obstinate barbarism of his people. For this reason, it is incredible how much the czar executed by his own personal exertions. He was often present in the courts of justice, and attended the deliberations of the senate until night. He visited almost all the countries, the institutions of which he wished to transplant into his own, and all the provinces into which he intended to introduce them. The ecclesiastics were instrumental in confirming the Russians in their predilection for ancient barbarism: he therefore depressed the patriarchate: he ventured, as Michael the Third had done at Constantinople, to transform its ceremonial into a farce, and united the supreme power, in temporal and spiritual affairs, in his own person. He sang at the altar as the first of the bishops; and transferred the government of the church to a synod, which was appointed by himself, and was the mere instrument of his will. He caused the thirteen thousand monks and nuns contained within his empire to return to their primitive employments of agriculture, and of attendance on hospitals and orphan houses: he forbade men to enter into monastic orders under the

age of thirty, because they were still young enough to be trained to religious performances, and women under that of fifty; and commanded the younger clergy to occupy themselves in the study of the laws, and in translating useful books.

He abolished the guard of strelitzes, formed the army on the German model, and caused a code of military laws to be arranged by Cendoroff.

He paid no attention to privileges derived from the merit or good fortune of ancestors, and bestowed more flattering distinctions on personal desert: the rank of an officer conferred a title of nobility, while a nobleman who had learned nothing was deprived of his rank; and every individual who served in any office of the first eight classes was considered on an equal footing with the most ancient nobility.

All these arrangements served to show that there existed as yet no such thing in Russia as public opinion, and that the perfection of morality consisted in implicit obedience: this circumstance had great influence in facilitating the reformation of manners; but it gave an appearance of culture, rather than a deeply-rooted civilization.

The czar caused his people to be numbered; and found that Russia contained 271 cities, 44,000 towns, and 715,000 villages: 5,091,857 individuals who paid the capitation tax, exclusive of 250,000 men serving by land and water, the nobility, the civil and temporal officers, and proprietors actually possessing land in their own right.

Peter gained by the Swedish war the navigation of the Baltic: this was the prize he chiefly wished to obtain; for maritime commerce was the principal object of his solicitude, as the only means of giving animation to his extensive dominions: he was in fact so fond of naval affairs, that he used to say, that if he were not emperor of Russia, he would choose to be admiral of Great Britain. He wished to transfer the commerce of Archangel to Petersburg: the sea on the north coast is seldom open to ships during more than three months of the year; and yet the navigation of the Gulf of Livonia appeared to be exposed to greater hazards. Before his death, Peter had the satisfaction of

seeing his harbors annually visited by twelve hundred ships; and he left forty ships of the line and frigates, and two hundred galleys: but these vessels were still deficient in the requisite number of good sailors. He was also excellently provided with ordnance; but it was badly served for want of dexterous artillery-men.

The communication between the provinces of his immense empire was facilitated by eleven great rivers, which he endeavoured, like Charles the Great, to unite, and thus to establish a communication by water between the Caspian, Baltic, and White seas. He carried a main road from Riga, by way of Petersburg, to the Wolchowa; and a regular course of posts was continued from Petersburg to Selingenskoi Ostrog.

He received the Armenians and Grusines, who earnestly desired an asylum during the commotions in Persia, into Astracan: these people established manufactories of wool and silk; perfected the culture of the vine, and rendered the islands of the Volga a delightful garden: the advantages of civil order attracted Indians from Multan, Tatars and Moguls; and a million of inhabitants gained their livelihood by the navigation and fisheries of that river.

He dispatched Isbrand Ides to open the way for commercial intercourse with China; and Czirkoff and Bering soon explored the coasts of America bordering on Kamtschatka.

Peter found but few manufactories already established in his dominions; and left at his death, including the mines, 230: 188,000 persons were inscribed on the lists of merchants. Formerly every individual had practised many kinds of mechanic arts, which were consequently in a very rude and imperfect state: the division of labor had however now taken place; and Peter collected the artizans of each particular branch into large communities, in order that they might enjoy greater facilities for improvement in their pursuits. Arms were manufactured at Tula and Susterbek; and cloths at Räschky, in the Ukraine. Commerce, while in its infancy, stands in need of the combined exertions of many, and Peter was on this account unable entirely to prevent monopolies; but he suffered

corporations to remain only in Petersburg and Moscow, and even in those cities they were under the inspection of the magistracy.

After having effected so many great achievements, he renewed the imperial dignity, which the ancient monarchs of the Russians had assumed. His only subject of apprehension was, lest his great undertaking should be destroyed or neglected after his death. In the incessant turmoils of business, he had been unable to give the requisite attention to the education of his son Alexey, whose mother was separated from her husband, and had inspired the prince with dislike to his father's innovations. The czar thought, that in nominating a successor, the honor and the advantage of the empire were the only objects to be kept in view, and that incompetent princes should be provided for in a monastery: he knew no difference of ranks but those which are made by nature and the exertions of the individual. With this principle, he determined that every nobleman should be allowed to bequeath his landed property to either of his sons, whom he might choose to fix upon as his heir. He at length caused Alexey to be executed, less on account of any specific crime, than because he was destitute of virtue: it was a greater crime, in the father's eyes, to suffer Russia to degenerate into her former state of barbarism, than to shed the blood of his own son. He now declared that the Russian emperors should in future possess the power of nominating their own successors: all classes of the nation confirmed this regulation by an oath; and as Peter, with reason, never did any thing of importance without publishing his motives, Theophanes Prokopovitsch, the most learned of all the Russian ecclesiastics, showed the advantages of this institution. The emperor himself was surprised by death before he had availed himself of his newly-acquired privilege.

## SECTION XXIX.

### THE HISTORY OF THE TURKS AND PERSIANS.

Peter was defeated by the Turks, in the second year after he had broken the power of Charles the Twelfth.

The padisha Mustafa the Second, who had concluded the peace of Carlowitz, was now dead: he had been sacrificed by the janissaries to their own avarice, and to the universal hatred against a mufti, to whom he had entrusted too much power. A. D. 1703. Achmed his brother, ascended the throne after his deposition, and endeavored, by diminishing the power of his soldiery, and by keeping a treasure always at hand against sudden emergencies, to provide against such misfortunes for the future.

Achmed was not inclined to make war upon the czar; and Peter, who was engaged with the affairs of the North and of the Baltic, had no disposition to attack him: but Poniatowsky, the father of the reigning king of Poland, persuaded the Turks to break with the czar, in favor of Charles the Twelfth. The czar happened to be enclosed on the banks of the Pruth, by an immense Turkish army with four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon: and in this extremity was glad to obtain peace, by presents and representations, on the following terms: "That he should abstain during twenty-five years, from undertaking any extraordinary enterprise, or seeking to obtain any influence in Poland or the Crimea: and that Bogoroditzkoi, by means of which he had intended to facilitate the communication between the Ukraine and the Crimea, and Tagonrok Azoff which he had fortified, should be dismantled, together with all the strong places as far as Tscherkaskoi."

The czar was more fortunate on the side of Persia. The sophis, who had reigned above two hundred years, had the seat of their power in Ispahan, the garden of the earth, and the centre of wealth and of every kind of voluptuousness. Hussein, seated on his golden throne, clothed in his richly embroidered robes, and wearing his

crown glittering with pearls and diamonds, apprehended no calamity.

The mountains of Candahar were inhabited by the Afghans, a people in many respects resembling the ancient Swiss, who derived their subsistence from pasturage and military service, and were rather in alliance with the sophi than subject to his power. The minister of the great king, unacquainted with his own weakness, offended these tribes, whereupon Mir Ewis, one of their nobles, set out with his whole force to take vengeance. The Persians fled: and Hussein in vain supplicated the Turkish pasha for assistance to the common cause of crowned heads; for the mufti favored the party of the Afghans, who, like the Ottomans, were Sunnite Mohammedans. Ismael Beg in vain sought for help at the courts of Pekin, Delhi, and Constantinople, and at length applied to Peter the Great. The Turkish grand visier was finally induced to represent to the pasha, that the holy Sunna stood in no need of the Afghans; and that as all the inhabitants of the earth are enlightened by one luminary, so it was reasonable that only one orthodox pasha should rule in the world. The Turks now took up arms in behalf of the sophi.

A. D. 1722. But Ispahan, subdued by famine, had already been compelled to surrender. The ancient king, clothed in the decorations of primitive dignity, and bending under the pressure of age and misfortune, was conducted into the camp of the enemy: there he was disrobed; and Mahmud, who had succeeded Mir Ewis in the command of the Afghans, put to death the whole family of the sophi before his eyes. The old man embraced a beloved grandson with his trembling arms; but he was sprinkled with the blood of this last hope of his race.

The monarchy of Persia was now dissolved; and while the interior of the country was torn to pieces by the fury of contending factions, the czar Peter made himself master of the western coast of the Caspian, and projected the restoration of a commercial road from the north of Hindostan and Bucharia, across that sea to the Wolga, which he intended to connect with the Baltic by means of canals.

## SECTION XXX.

### CONTINUATION OF THE RUSSIAN HISTORY.

Peter used often to exclaim, "Farther yet!" and in reality there were advantages which, from his natural dispositions, from the age in which he lived, and the circumstances in which he was placed, it was impossible for him to acquire or to communicate to his people. The nation was not prepared for a free constitution, the only solid foundation of that civilization and commerce, which were so much the objects of his solicitude: but he rescued his people from the evils of barbarism, in as far as it was possible for one man within the compass of one age; and the despotic power which he retained, appeared to be the necessary and natural government of such a people.

The czar, whose habits were those of a libertine, had been captivated by the personal charms of a woman who was the daughter of Samuel, a Livonian peasant, and widow of a Swedish dragoon, with whom she had lived at Marienburg: her presence of mind and masculine understanding secured his affections, and Peter caused her to be crowned empress, by the title of Catharine. It appears from ministerial documents, that she lost the favor of her lord toward the end of his life, by an amour with the chamberlain Mons, and her fall was confidently anticipated: Peter however suddenly died at the age of fifty-three, under excessive bodily torment, which was ascribed to the stone. He wished to name his successor in writing, but he was unable to finish more than the three words, "*Donnez tout à* . . . . . ."

His death took place in the new capital, which was chiefly inhabited by foreigners: and in the same night, prince Menczikoff, the friend of the empress, assembled the nobles about the court and the principal officers of the body guard, after having previously secured the treasure which was deposited in the citadel. The empress appeared in the assembly, and spoke of the right which the coronation had given her to the succession; but declared that

she would undertake the burden of government, only that the sovereignty might be preserved for Peter the Second, the son of the unfortunate Alexey, until he should have attained to mature age. She also gave bills of exchange, gold and precious stones, to all present, as proofs of her good will: upon which the learned archbishop of Novogorod arose from his seat, and swore to acknowledge the imperial dignity in the person of Catharine the First alone: and his example was followed by all the rest.

On the first intelligence of the death of Peter, the whole senate, the commanders, and the bojares, assembled in the palace: some wished to give the empire a constitution similar to that which had lately been adopted in Sweden; but while they were debating, they were interrupted by the sound of drums, and the palace was instantly surrounded with armed soldiers: Catharine appeared in the midst of the astonished senate, "Deeply afflicted," as she said, "with the grief which affected the orphan senate, and penetrated with the same sentiment, and with zeal for the public good, she came to assure them that she would form the grand prince Alexievitsch for an emperor of Russia, worthy of the name and authority of the great man, whose death they all lamented." While she was recommending them to elect the youth, Menczikoff stood up and said, that posterity would form an erroneous judgment of the dispositions of this great assembly, if they did not take a few moments for free deliberation before they proceeded to the election. The empress upon this quitted the assembly; and the archbishop of Novogorod now assured them that the deceased emperor had declared to him that he intended Catharine for a successor; that she deserved the empire who had preserved it by her wisdom in the disaster at the Pruth. The great chancellor, Golovkyn, thought it necessary to take the votes of the people; others proposed that the officers should be assembled; and count Apraxin conjured the assembly to remember the guiltless youth of Peter the Second, and the family of Romanoff: but prince Menczikoff addressed himself to the archbishop, saying, "What I have heard from your mouth is decisive: fathers and mighty lords, long live Catharine the First!"

Tumultuous acclamations now rang through the chamber, and on the military parade. Catharine, surrounded by the grandees, now showed herself to the people, among whom Menczikoff threw gold; and the heads of the council, of the army, and of the synod, prepared the ukase of proclamation. The maid of Marienburg ascended the throne of Rurik and of Peter the Great, by the assistance of prince Menczikoff, who had been a baker's boy, and was recommended to Peter chiefly by his personal beauty; he deserved by his intelligence and courage the favor which he had acquired, and attained to the most distinguished stations in the state and in the army: he was selfish and proud; but was a man whose boldness and understanding were equal to any circumstances. Thus far extended the government of Peter the Great; with whom the greater number of those princes who, before his time, or during his age, received a similar title, will scarcely bear to be compared.

## SECTION XXXI.

### THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK IN ENGLAND.

England was governed, after the death of William the Third, who died without heirs, by Anne Stuart, the sister of his wife and daughter of the expelled king, James the Second. After the house of Stuart, Anna Maria of Orleans, duchess of Savoy, was the next heir to the crown of England; but she was incapacitated by her profession of faith, which was that of the catholic church. A. D. 1701. Even during the life of William, the protestant succession had been decided, by act of parliament, in favor of the countess palatine Sophia, duchess of Hanover, wife of the first electoral sovereign of that territory, and mother of George the First.

A. D. 1714. This princess died a short time before queen Anne; and George the First, upon that event, took the oath of succession, (A. D. 1715,) by which he engaged to observe and maintain the laws and liberties of

Britain; not to engage this kingdom even in defensive wars, on account of his territories within the empire; and to employ no other than British ministers and privy counsellors in the administration of the government.

A. D. 1707. Scotland and England had already been united into one state, under the name of Great Britain, in the reign of Queen Anne; and the act of union introduced equal rights, liberties, commercial arrangements, customs, excise, coins, weights, and measures, and a parliament common to both nations. The Scottish peers acquired equal privileges with those of England, and rank next to those who existed in England previously to this period: they are besides endowed with the power of electing sixteen of their number as their representatives in the upper house. The thirty-one counties, two stewartries and sixty-six boroughs which Scotland contains, elect forty-five members as their representatives to the house of commons. When the parliament grants a supply of two millions, the share of the burden which falls upon Scotland amounts to forty-eight thousand pounds. The ecclesiastical constitution, consisting of sixty-eight presbyteries, thirteen provincial synods and four universities, was confirmed.

A. D. 1713. By the peace of Utrecht, Great Britain acquired Gibraltar and Minorca in Europe; the island of St. Christopher in the West Indies; and Nova Scotia, Acadia or Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay and Isthmus on the continent of America. We shall take occasion, in the following book, to speak of the progress made by the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain.

## SECTION XXXII.

### SITUATION OF HOLLAND.

In the United Provinces of the Netherlands, William the Fourth, descended from the younger branch of the family of that William who founded the liberties of this country, was acknowledged as stadtholder only in Friesland, Gröningen and Guelders. The other provinces

considered this office as unnecessary, since the state was secured on the side of France by a strong frontier: for when Holland, after the treaty of Utrecht, abandoned those provinces which had formerly belonged to Spain, to the house of Austria, this boundary, according to the agreement, was declared inalienable; and it was determined that the Dutch should keep garrisons in Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Ypres, Venlo, and other places on the frontiers; should receive, for this kind of service, an annual subsidy of five hundred thousand dollars; and should be supported by England, in case of necessity, with ten thousand men and twenty ships of war for the defence of this boundary.

The Dutch reduced their army to thirty-two thousand men, and devoted themselves entirely to commercial pursuits.

## SECTION XXXIII.

### SITUATION OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

A. D. 1715. In the year in which Lewis the Fourteenth died, the national debt of France amounted to two thousand six hundred millions of livres; equal in money of our times (1783) to four thousand five hundred and fifty millions. A whole generation was deficient in that country: men of thirty-five to forty-five years of age were seldom seen, because most of those who should have been in that period of life had been destroyed in war. Of all the great commanders which France had lately produced, only Villars and the marshal of Berwick, a natural son of James the Second, were now living: and except Torcy, who was an able negociator, and the chancellor Daguesseau, the court contained very few ministers who had served under Lewis the Fourteenth.

Philip, duke of Orleans, who was regent during the minority of Lewis the Fifteenth, was distinguished by his intelligence and vigor, but was not equally remarkable for zeal in the service of the state, for firmness of principle,

or for the sacrifice of his own inclinations to the public good.

But George the First, who, without understanding the English language, succeeded to the throne of that country in the same year, was more intent upon the confirmation of his own authority, and of that of his family, than upon the real interests of England: he calculated with more confidence on the electorate of his ancestors, and thought more about its interests, than on his newly-acquired throne, which had been subject to so many convulsions. It appeared hazardous to expose the latter to the fortune of war: and he therefore surrounded himself on all sides with treaties of guarantee, and was at the same time in alliance with the courts of Vienna, Versailles, Madrid, Lisbon, Turin, Berlin, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Warsaw, and with the Dutch. According to the stipulations of these treaties, he might have been at peace with the whole of Europe, while he was furnishing auxiliary troops to every one of these powers against the rest.

Within two years after the terrible war which the court of France had carried on for the purpose of raising Philip the Fifth to the throne of Spain, the same court entered into the most intimate alliance with England against that monarch. Lewis the Fifteenth, who was a feeble boy, had been terrified with the idea, that if he should die, Philip the Fifth, notwithstanding his oath of renunciation, would endeavor to make himself king of France, to the prejudice of the claim of the duke of Orleans, who was now the heir apparent: and George the First was the more inclined to enter into an alliance with the latter for the prevention of this occurrence, because the union of both those monarchies under one head was the object against which the great war had been especially undertaken.

But the court of Madrid had adopted a totally different system since the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth Farnese, princess of Parma; through whose influence, Alberoni, a man of low birth, but possessed of bold and lofty views, acquired the principal station in the administration of the country and the unlimited confidence of his master. This man was more disposed to undertake brilliant enterprises,

than to pursue a prudent system of internal administration, by which the nation might have received new animation under the sceptre of the king, and might have acquired a greater degree of power. He adopted the design of reuniting to the Spanish monarchy all the important provinces which had been separated from its dominions by the last treaty of peace.

A. D. 1716. The war broke out in Italy; and France, England, and Holland united themselves in a triple alliance, for the purpose of bringing it to a conclusion. A. D. 1717. It was discovered that Alberoni had entered into negociations with the count of Goritz, minister of Charles the Twelfth, and with Peter the Great; and entertained the project of precipitating the house of Hanover from the throne of England. The allied powers took up arms; and as Spain alone was not powerful enough for the contest, nor her external relations sufficiently mature, the queen Farnese saw herself under the necessity of sacrificing Alberoni to the *reason of state*. After his removal, Spain acceded to an amicable convention at London, by which the triple was transformed into a quadruple alliance for the preservation of peace and the balance of power. A. D. 1718.

It was manifest that Victor of Savoy, king of Sicily, had endeavored to deceive all the powers: for which reason he became, as the weakest, the sacrifice of their indignation. He lost Sicily, and received in return only the much smaller island of Sardinia, where he could only keep a body of troops in readiness for some enterprise by which he might obtain indemnification. On the other hand it was settled, that whenever the Spanish branch of the family of Bourbon should become extinct, it should be succeeded by the family of Victor, of the house of Savoy; and that, under those circumstances, the hereditary dominions of Savoy should revert to the eldest prince of the junior line.

Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, which were now governed by childless princes of the houses of Medici and Farnese, were treated as if those families were already extinct; and, without their concurrence, were allotted by an-

ticipation to Don Carlos, the son of the queen of Spain, who was as yet scarcely two years old, and for whose interest his mother exerted herself, in the most zealous manner, during twenty successive years. In order to obtain the consent of the emperor to this arrangement, Sicily was again united with Naples under the dominion of Austria.

The powers desirous of peace were notwithstanding disquieted by a revival of the jealousy between Charles the Sixth and Philip the Fifth. The latter complained that the court of Vienna still continued to bestow the order of the golden fleece: but the former had a more worthy ground of discontent, that the court of Spain had punished the Arragonese and Catalans for their attachment to his cause, with the loss of their ancient constitution. He desired that the cortes might be restored; because Philip's act of renunciation of his claim to other hereditary privileges of the extinct branch of the house of Habsburg, would otherwise be deficient in a material point of form; and this defect would impair its validity. This difficulty, however, was removed by the courts of France and England; which declared, that whatever defects of form or force might be found in the acts of renunciation, they would compensate by their power.

Charles the Sixth afterwards established a commercial company at Ostend: perhaps he, like all the rest of Europe, was attentive to the immense resources which England and Holland derived from their maritime commerce, and was desirous of procuring similar advantages for the Austrian monarchy; perhaps he only intended, by manifesting this idea, to induce the maritime powers to purchase the abandonment of the plan, by acceding to the object which he had most at heart: it appeared that he was likely to die without male heirs; and he was therefore extremely desirous to procure the guarantee of all the powers of Europe to the succession of his daughter.

A. D. 1723. The death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, which happened in the mean time, was quickly followed by that of his son-in-law Don Lewis, king of Spain, (A. D. 1734,) to whom Philip the Fifth had abandoned the government. The infanta of Spain, Anna

Maria, who was receiving her education in France as the bride of Lewis the Fifteenth, was now sent back to her parents: the real ground of this proceeding was, that she was not yet more than seven years old; and the French ministry were extremely desirous that the young king should marry a princess of mature age. The court of Spain was deeply offended with the insult: but as it had not yet forgiven the English for the acquisition of Gibraltar, and could scarcely hope to secure the possession of the Italian states for Don Carlos without the concurrence of France, it was necessary either to forgive this offence, or to enter into new and closer alliance with Austria. The duke de Ripperda, therefore, who was the ambassador of Spain at Vienna, and afterwards minister of state at Madrid, concluded a treaty with Charles the Sixth, (A. D. 1725,) by which Spain engaged to pay subsidies to the imperial court, and not to oppose the commercial company at Ostend, or the family compact which the emperor was desirous of establishing: on the other hand, Charles engaged neither to afford any assistance to the English in the defence of the fortress of Gibraltar and of the island of Minorca; nor to offer any opposition to the arrangement of the affairs of Italy, which had been adopted in favor of the infant Don Carlos.

On receiving intelligence of this reconciliation, France, England and Prussia concluded a treaty of defence for fifteen years at Hanover, by which they mutually guaranteed each other in the possession of their respective dominions. These powers augmented their military force, in order to be able to maintain peace. A. D. 1726. After the short authority of the duke of Bourbon, cardinal Fleury the preceptor of Lewis the Fifteenth, who was now in the seventy-third year of his age, had acquired the same degree of favor, or rather the same all-powerful influence and supreme direction of the affairs of France, which had formerly been possessed by Richelieu and Mazarin. This gentle old man was a lover of peace, and his enlightened understanding perceived how greatly France stood in need of that blessing; and on that account he always had recourse to negociations, and protracted them to a great

length. Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister of George the First and Second in England, was equally disinclined to war; in which the national debt would be increased, and his own credit exposed to danger by the caprices of fortune: and the English nation itself was desirous of establishing a foundation of opulence and power more suitable to its situation. Frederick William the First, king of Prussia, immediately after the death of his father, adopted the system pursued by his grandfather, of rendering himself powerful by means of his treasury and his army, and prosecuted it with a resolution which set all bounds of moderation at defiance. On this account, he endeavored to prepare Prussia for any war that might happen, but entered into none that could be prejudicial in his chief pursuit. The states-general of the United Provinces were equally disinclined to every war which might give occasion to the re-establishment of the office of stadtholder.

## SECTION XXXIV.

### THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.

Charles the Sixth was exclusively occupied in endeavoring to preserve his dominions from a misfortune similar to that which had afflicted Spain in the commencement of the present century. For this purpose he declared, by a "pragmatic sanction," as a law of his family, that if he should leave sons, or, in defect of male heirs, daughters, at his decease, the hereditary dominions and crowns of the house of Austria should remain united: in the event of his daughter not surviving him, he appointed, as his successors, the daughters of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph the First, who had married into the electoral families of Saxony and Bavaria: if these should also die without heirs, they were to be succeeded by his sisters; and the latter by the nearest heirs of the elder duchesses in equal degrees of propinquity. Charles, who possessed family privileges which had long been acknowledged by the emperors and the archchancellors of the empire, had the power of mak-

ing this regulation: but it might become a question whether, in the event of the hereditary dominions descending to female heirs, the daughter of the last reigning prince should succeed her father in preference to the daughter of his elder brother. Charles the Sixth induced the electors of Bavaria and Saxony to give their consent: and all the principal negociations of the greater part of his reign had for their chief object the recognizance and guarantee of the powers of Europe to the pragmatic sanction. Spain had given her consent, but France wished to embrace this opportunity of diminishing the power of Austria in Italy, which extended over Milan, Mantua, Naples, and Sicily. For this purpose, cardinal Fleury contrived to excite the apprehensions of the queen of Spain for the security of her son's dominions; and it was agreed that it would be prudent to pre-occupy Tuscany and the Farnesian territory.

This approximation of the courts of Versailles and Madrid occasioned the conclusion of a treaty at Seville, in which England was associated, (A. D. 1728); and by which it was agreed that Spain should immediately secure the strong places in Tuscany and Parma by a corps of six thousand men. The views of the house of Bourbon appeared so important at the court of Vienna with regard to its own interests, that the latter thought proper to offer the hereditary viceroyalty of Milan, and a considerable sum of money to king Victor, on the condition that he should furnish twelve thousand men to prevent this transaction. The court of Spain, which had received intelligence of this proposal, promised to give Victor the property of a great part of the duchy of Milan, if he would assist in entirely expelling the Germans from Lombardy. Victor, who had listened to both parties, was terrified when he heard of the conferences at Seville; from which he might easily conclude, that the different courts would call for the performance of his promises. He had forfeited Sicily ten years before this period, by a similar course of crooked policy. The emperor was enraged: and the court of Spain abandoned this prince, on whom it was impossible to rely, to the fate which he had thus prepared for himself.

## SECTION XXXV.

### FATE OF KING VICTOR.

Victor, who was convinced that the dislike of the contemporary courts was personally directed against himself, resolved to lay down his government, in order to preserve his family: he assembled the princes of the blood, the knights of his great order *(della annunciata)*, the ministers, the archbishop of Turin, the generals, and the whole court, at Rivoli, where he reminded them of the various scenes of his government, which had now lasted nearly fifty years, of his actions and his fortune; declared his wish to enjoy a moment of repose from the turmoil of state affairs before his death; and, divesting himself of his authority, transferred all his claims to his son, prince Charles Emanuel of Piedmont. Victor reserved for himself an annuity of fifty thousand scudi, and repaired to Chambery.

He probably thought it would be easy for him to resume his power when the present storm should have passed over: but he was completely deceived in the character of his son, whom he had rendered a master in the art of dissimulation, by the severity with which he had always treated him. As soon as Italy appeared to be tranquillized, Victor spoke to the marquis d'Ormea, minister of state, of his desire to be reinstated in the government: Ormea reminded him of the oath of fidelity which he, as well as all the other officers of state, had been obliged to take to the young king, at the express command of his old master: but in order that Victor might not turn his attention to other quarters for assistance, he pretended to be disposed to promote his wishes, while he acquainted Charles Emanuel with the proposal without delay. The new king communicated the intention of his father to the council of state; and added, that as he wished always to govern by their means and with their concurrence, so he would follow their advice in this important affair. The ministers, who were glad to be released from the vigilance of Victor, and not

yet aware how nearly his son would resemble him, manifested their regret that their master, seduced in his old age by the malice of the countess of St. Sebastian, should appear to give ear to counsels which would throw every thing into confusion: they begged Charles Emanuel not to permit the excellent order of the state which Victor had founded, to be reversed and destroyed by his feeble age: the archbishop, with tears, intreated him to maintain his sovereignty, wept as if in despair, and lamented the fate of human nature; made a long speech, and concluded with observing, that it would be necessary to secure the person of the old king. Victor Amadeus was made prisoner: he resisted for a moment; but his knowledge of mankind soon convinced him that it would be vain to contend against his fate: he therefore surrendered; and ended his days in a secure fortress. A. D. 1732.

## SECTION XXXVI.

### THE WAR OF 1733.

While the first king of Sardinia was entangling himself in his own snares, the emperor Charles the Sixth sent some troops into Italy, to oblige cardinal Fleury, who was disinclined to embark in any war, to pay attention to the interests of Austria. The court of Spain requested assistance from that of France, (A. D. 1731,) to enable it to take possession of the countries of Tuscany and Parma; but the cardinal delayed his compliance. England and Holland were gained over to the views of the emperor by the suppression of the Commercial Company at Ostend, and guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of his order of succession.

At this juncture, the family of the dukes of Parma became extinct by the death of Antonio Farnese. The last prince of the house of Medici was still living, but was equally indifferent to the affairs of his dominions, and to the threatened extinction of his family. The emperor now consented to allow Don Carlos to take possession of Parma

and Placentia; and gave assurances that he would not molest him in the inheritance of Florence; in return for which concession, the court of Spain guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. France alone persisted in her refusal.

A. D. 1733. Affairs were in this state at the death of Frederick Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, the successor of that John Sobiesky whose heroism had saved Poland and Vienna, A. D. 1697. The widow of the latter, who was unwisely frugal at the decisive moment, and full of partiality for her younger son, had neither cherished the party in favor of his family, nor even kept them together. Frederick Augustus was afterwards expelled by Charles the Twelfth, who placed the virtuous Stanislaus Lesczynsky on the throne of Poland in his stead, (A. D. 1706); but after the battle of Pultowa, the former was restored to his dominions by the arms of the czar; and from that moment Russia exerted a preponderant influence over all the affairs of Poland. General Münnich indeed, while in the service of that country, endeavored to accustom the Polish militia to the German discipline; and he had already made progress towards forming the guard, when he was displaced by the influence of the despotic favorite of the king, count Flemming, a man whose character was more distinguished for violence than for intelligence.

The military system of Poland was thus doomed to remain on the ancient Sarmatian model: the troops fought separately, in all parts of the country, on all sides, and even in flight, without concert or concentration to one point. Hence it was more easy to conquer Poland than to carry on war in that country; for there, in war as well as in peace, there was no point of union: the whole body was never engaged on one object at the same time, but each individual took such measures as he thought fittest. The extensive plains of this country were exposed to the Russians, and opened to them a road into the empire and the whole of western Europe.

Stanislaus Lesczynsky was still living at the death of Frederick Augustus: he was the father-in-law of Lewis the Fifteenth, and was worthy of holding a royal sceptre; for his virtues had gained universal esteem. A strong party

in Poland elected him king; but Russia, Austria, and the dependants of the late court, were in favor of the young Frederick Augustus. The neighboring courts dreaded the consequences of the influence of France, whose power was formidable even in the wars carried on against Turkey; and wished for a king who should be entirely dependent on them, or at least devoted to their interests. The court of Petersburg wished for war, because the favorite of the empress was earnestly desirous of providing occupation in foreign enterprises for the honest and respectable general Münnich, who had commanded in the Russian armies ever since the time of Peter the Great.

Stanislaus was in Dantzig, where he was besieged by Münnich, with the loss of eight thousand men: after the king had effected his escape, the city surrendered on the 136th day of the siege; and purchased exemption from plunder for the sum of one million of dollars.

While the French were thus affording very ineffectual support in the North to the father-in-law of Lewis the Fifteenth, a war broke out on the Rhine and in Italy against Charles the Sixth, partly because he was in favor of the claims of Lesczynsky, and partly because the court of Madrid was still incessantly endeavoring to procure an accession of power for the son of the queen in Italy. Cardinal Fleury saw himself under the necessity of attaching this court and that of Turin to the French interest, by means of some sacrifices.

The marshal de Villars, who was now eighty years old, marched with a considerable army into Italy; the marshal of Berwick besieged Philipsburg on the Rhine; and the duke de Montemar made an attack on Naples and Sicily. The English, who were engaged on the side of the Austrians, obtained a victory at Passaro; but the continental territories of Austria, both in the Neapolitan dominions and in Lombardy, were conquered by the Spaniards and French. A. D. 1734. Charles Emanuel of Savoy, fought against Austria with all the coolness and presence of mind of an old commander. He was not endowed with the splendid qualities of a hero, and his exterior had not even the signs of a reflecting mind; but he possessed a

good understanding, together with an undeviating attention to order. All the Austrian territories in Italy, with the exception of Mantua, were in a short time occupied by fifty thousand Frenchmen, twenty thousand Spaniards, and fifteen thousand Piedmontese: and in Germany, Philipsburg, Trarbach and Kehl, fell into the hands of the French. The name only of the old warrior Eugene, shone at the head of the Austrian army during a few months: for all offices, both at court and in the army, were distributed by favor instead of merit; the spirit of the party was predominant, and the finances in a state of disorder.

A. D. 1735. Negociations were soon begun, which were prosecuted under several successive suspensions of arms, until the peace of Vienna was concluded three years afterwards. A. D. 1738.

The terms of this treaty were as follows: Don Carlos was declared king of Naples and Sicily; and it was settled that when he should succeed to the throne of Spain by inheritance, he should abandon his present kingdom. When that event should actually take place,* his third son, the present king † Ferdinand, was declared to be absolved from the paternal and regal authority of his father, and was to ascend the throne of Naples and Sicily; for the throne of Spain was destined for his eldest son, Don Carlos, where he now reigns: † the second son Don Philip was incapable, from mental deficiency, of governing himself or others. The possession of the kingdom of Spain was secured to the family of Don Carlos in all its future branches; and in the event of its utter failure, to the descendants of his brothers.

On the other hand, Carlos renounced all claim to the inheritance of the Medici and Farnese; and the grand duchy of Tuscany was transferred, after the death of the last of the Medicis, to Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine and husband of the heiress of Austria, the grand duchess Maria Theresa; and the duchy of Parma to her father and the family of Austria. The state of Milan was also

* It happened in 1759.

† Viz. in 1783, which was the year when this chapter was written.

restored to this crown, with the exception of the towns of Novara and Tortona and some other districts, which were given to Charles Emanuel of Savoy, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war.

To king Stanislaus was confided the administration of the duchy of Lorraine, which after his death was inalienably united to France. This acquisition, so important on account of its situation and the excellence of the soil, had been an object of desire both to Henry the Fourth and to Richelieu: but duke Charles the Fourth, who was a valiant knight, though incapable of controlling his own passions and of resisting the policy of France, had been compelled to grant such privileges to Lewis the Fourteenth, as were scarcely compatible even with the bare shadow of the sovereignty; and he was in fact afterwards expelled. The virtues of his nephew Charles the Fifth were unable to procure the restoration of his rights; but Leopold, the son of the latter, had been replaced in his dominions by the treaty of Ryswick. His power was unstable and frequently disputed, until the contending privileges were defined by a compact, concluded at Paris under the regency. He was a wise and good prince, and actively engaged in promoting the prosperity of his country; and was the father of Francis Stephen, who exchanged the hereditary sovereignty of Lorraine for Tuscany, but retained the privilege of giving his vote as margrave of Nomeny, in the diet of Germany, in order that he might not become a foreigner in the empire, by the exchange of territory. The presence of the good Stanislaus was a consolation to the inhabitants of Lorraine: the whole power of the country was immediately transferred to France; and after his death, which happened in the eighty-eighth year of his age, (A. D. 1766,) his beautiful residence of Luneville, together with all the details of the administration, fell also into the hands of that government. The boundary of the empire was afterwards settled by a compact, concluded with the family of Nassau-Saarbrück, which was confirmed by the diet. A. D. 1768. The sovereignty of Reichshofen in Alsace, was sold by Francis to a French citizen. A. D. 1761. Other regulations respecting boundaries

were settled with the administration of the Austrian Netherlands, the bishop of Liege, and the counts of Leyen. A. D. 1769. The relations of France, with the empire of Germany, appeared to be determined. A. D. 1772.

In recompense for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and for the transfer of Lorraine to the power of France, Charles the Sixth obtained the guarantee of the French court to the pragmatic sanction of his succession, which was also acknowledged by the new court of Naples and the king of Sardinia, by Great Britain, Holland and Prussia.

## SECTION XXXVII.

### SITUATION OF THE POWERS OF EUROPE AT THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.

After the peace of Vienna, Charles the Sixth also put an end to the war against the Turks; and England and Spain concluded a treaty in adjustment of a dispute which had arisen between them. At this period when all Europe was in a state of tranquillity, when every precaution had been taken to prevent the recurrence of new wars of succession; and in the four hundred and sixty-seventh year since count Rudolf of Habsburg ascended the throne of the German empire, died Charles the Sixth, the last male descendant of that sovereign, and the sixteenth emperor of his race: his death happened a few months after the decease of Frederick William, king of Prussia, and a few days only before that of Anna Ivanovna, empress of Russia.

Philip the Fifth of Spain was still existing, a burthen even to himself, and the government was conducted by his queen, Elizabeth of the family of Farnese.

Don John the Fifth still bore the title of king of Portugal, and was employed in endeavoring, by his pious establishments, to regain the favor of God, which he believed himself to have forfeited by his sensuality.

Cardinal Fleury, now in his eighty-eighth year, still wielded, with a trembling hand, the sceptre of Lewis the Fifteenth. The acquisition of Lorraine was the fruit of his prudence; and he was rather honored than feared. He expended twenty-six millions of livres in annual subsidies to the different courts of Europe; and the kingdom, under his administration, was recovering from its exhaustion.

The monarchy of Austria had been enfeebled by wars, and an unskilful administration. Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary, which had been formerly taken by Eugene, had been lately transferred again to the Turks.

Frederick William, king of Prussia, who was severe both to himself and others, by means of his undeviating attention to the true sources of military power, arms and money, had rendered himself by far the most powerful prince of the empire: he was an intelligent sovereign; just, except in cases which interfered with the above-mentioned objects of his solicitude; and so excellent a regulator of the administration, that many of his chief institutions remain to our times. He found his kingdom in an exhausted state; and at the conclusion of a long peace, he left one hundred thousand men as well disciplined as veteran soldiers; and a treasure of several millions of dollars, as an available resource in fortunate conjunctures. This prince, notwithstanding the severity of his disposition, enacted an excellent code of criminal laws; and, though himself blindly devoted to the Calvinistic creed, he allowed the free exercise of their religion to all his soldiers, even to those of the Greek church and to Turks. No man was ever gifted with greater firmness in pursuit of the objects of his will: nor did any prince ever more justly distinguish substantial power from its shadow. In his policy he attached himself to the courts of Vienna and St. James's, although he had cause of dissatisfaction with the former, and personally disliked George the Second. He was on terms of intimacy with the elder Frederick Augustus, king of Poland. This Frederick William, who knew no enjoyment but that of continually smoking tobacco in the company of officers whom he esteemed, and who punished his son with igno-

minious blows because he had made use of silver instead of iron forks, displayed the splendor of a sultan on the occasion of a visit from his magnificent ally Augustus. He appeared not to expect much advantage to Prussia from the reign of his son; because this prince was fond of reading and of music, and wrote poetry. The latter was so weary of the coarseness of his father and of the tedious lectures of his theologians, that he made an attempt to escape, which very nearly cost him his life. Soon after the death of his father, he sent to the press a work for the use of rulers, in opposition to the Principe of Macchiavelli; he afterwards became acquainted with Voltaire, and was compared by the verse-makers of Germany to David and Solomon.

Frederick Augustus the younger, king of Poland, was content with his dignity without aspiring after fame: he was neither devoted to pleasure, nor severe; but his character was deficient in vigor. He was neither able to unite the factions which prevailed in his country, nor to impart to one of them a decided superiority; and none of the diets held during his long administration ever came to a formal conclusion.

A. D. 1737. Ferdinand Kettler, duke of the feudal territory of Courland, had died without heirs. The states, in order to avoid the danger of becoming incorporated with Poland, had elected, as his successor, Maurice of Saxony, a natural son of the elder Frederick Augustus, who was a hero and a master of military science; but this choice was cancelled by the diet of Grodno. The inhabitants of Courland, who were anxious for their ecclesiastical and temporal liberties, made application to the Russian empress Anna, the wife of the last duke but one, who guaranteed their constitution. They received for their duke John Ernest von Biren, a common Courlander, who possessed the affection of the empress, and who governed Russia with absolute sway: an arrangement which obliged the Poles to abandon the idea of incorporating that duchy with their own country.

## SECTION XXXVIII.

### RUSSIA.

Catherine the First kept possession of the throne of Peter the Great, with a presence of mind not inferior to the courage which she had displayed in its acquisition: she entrusted many posts to which the greatest influence was attached, to foreigners, in whom she had most confidence; but in order as much as possible to avoid exciting national jealousy, she bestowed the highest dignities on the Russians. The newly conquered provinces were treated with the greatest forbearance; but in other quarters she allowed the nobles to enrich themselves by iniquitous means, and thus obtained a pretence for ruining all such as were likely to be disobedient. Banished persons were recalled; the archbishop of Novogorod, whose character had suffered in the opinion of the public by his conduct at the late succession, was kept within bounds; the punishments inflicted on criminals were moderated, and the capitation tax was reduced from seventy-five to seventy copecks. As, the officers who had raised the empress to the throne were still formidable to her authority, she employed them in distant offices of importance: and in order to keep the guards in check, she raised a force of twenty thousand foreigners.

One of her principal ministers was the vice-chancellor count Ostermann, the son of a Lutheran clergyman in Westphalia: he entered into the service of the Russian navy, in a low station, under admiral Cruys; and afterwards recommended himself, by a well-executed commission, to the notice of the czar Peter, who took him into the cabinet, soon employed him in business of the greatest importance, and frequently boasted that Ostermann had never committed an error. When, at a later period, the all-powerful prince Menczikoff wished to make his son duke of Courland, and Ostermann, who was persuaded of the impolicy of such a proceeding, dared not refuse his consent to its execution, he promised to give his support to the measure: but as soon as he arrived at his own house,

he besmeared his face with lemon juice; and on the following day announced that he was extremely concerned at being prevented, by a sudden attack of the jaundice, from appearing in the council: this happened a short time before the death of the empress and the fall of Menczikoff.

Menczikoff attempted in vain to procure a marriage between the czarevitsch Peter and his own daughter: for which purpose he endeavored to obtain the favor of the emperor Charles the Sixth, who was the uncle of Peter by his wife. Austria and Russia concluded a treaty of alliance.

Catharine was accustomed to transact business in the morning, and to devote the afternoon and night to pleasure: she died in the thirty-eighth year of her age, and in the second of her reign, (A. D. 1727,) from the effect, as it is said, of the immoderate use of strong wines.

Her last will declared the czarevitsch her successor; advised him to marry Menczikoff's daughter; and enacted that no prince who should possess any other kingdom, or should be of any other creed than that of the Greek church, should ever ascend the throne of Russia. Prince Menczikoff was now more powerful than ever: he feared nothing from the emperor, who was yet only twelve years of age, and made no doubt that he should see his daughter on the throne of the empire: but the ceremony of betrothment was scarcely performed, when the emperor, by the advice of his friend Dolgorukoj, deprived the prince of all his wealth and dignities, and banished him into Siberia; where he lived many years in poverty, but supported his misfortunes with firmness and cheerfulness.

The Dolgoruckys succeeded to the power of the late favorite: they allowed the young emperor every indulgence by which they could hope to gain his affections; and had affianced him to their sister, when their schemes were unexpectedly disappointed by his sudden death. A. D. 1730. The male line of Romanoff was now extinct.

The Dolgoruckys, in order to found their future power on the affection of the nation, supported the project of limiting the hitherto unbounded power of the czars. This new system was sketched by the superior and secret coun-

cil, the presidents of the senate, and the high colleges; who, in concert with the senate and the generals, sent Vasiley Dolgorucky, Michel Gallitzyn, and major-general Leontjeff, to Anna the duchess-dowager of Courland, daughter of the blind czar Ivan and niece of Peter the Great, to declare to her "that she should be acknowledged as empress, on condition of executing a written promise not to make war, or conclude peace, or impose taxes, or bestow important offices, or alienate any part of the empire, or appoint a successor, or banish any nobleman or confiscate his estates, without the consent of the council."

Anna subscribed these conditions: but she had scarcely ascended the throne, when Alexey Tscherkaskoj and Ivan Trûbetzkoj, anxious to insinuate themselves into her confidence, informed her that the ecclesiastics, the nobility, and the people, were discontented at being under the government of eight sovereigns. Anna assembled the council, ordered the capitulation to be produced, and saying, "I forgive you!" tore the document and re-established the despotism. Ostermann, Tscherkaskoy and Münnich were nominated cabinet counsellors; and the first was also appointed admiral.

Ostermann arranged the fleet in two divisions, each consisting of one regiment of sailors and one of soldiers: the first comprising eighteen companies of five hundred men each; the second, fifteen companies of two hundred and fifty: the first was subdivided into experienced men and learners.

General Münnich was a native of the country of Oldenburg: he had received his military education under Lewis the Fourteenth, Eugene and Marlborough. He had gone over from the service of Poland to that of Russia, and was of great importance to the czar from his acquaintance with military architecture.

But John Ernest of Biren, a native of Courland, the favorite of Anna, looked with a jealous eye on the talents and incessant activity of Münnich, who, in the space of a few years, had formed the corps of engineers, of cuirassiers, that of noble cadets, and had established the line of the Ukraine: the latter consisted of sixteen entrenchments,

each of which was occupied by a regiment of dragoons, and by the fourth part of a regiment of infantry, who in war were soldiers, and in peace were employed in the ordinary occupations of peasants. Münnich at the same time completed the canal of the Ladoga. In order to remove him, the war with Poland was confided to his management, in which he took possession of Dantzig. He afterwards marched against the Turks.

## SECTION XXXIX.

### THE DETHRONEMENT OF ACHMED THE THIRD.

The padisha Achméd, who made peace with Peter the Great on the banks of the Pruth, was still living, but had been dispossessed of the sovereignty. He had begun the war in the Peloponnesus against the Venetians, soon after the departure of Charles the Twelfth from Turkey. Charles the Sixth took part in favor of the Venetians, as he was bound to do by treaty; and his troops, under the command of Prince Eugene, defeated the Turks near Peterwaradin and Belgrade. These victories had cost the Austrians a great number of soldiers; but they had so reduced the courage of the Ottomans, that the seraskier who commanded in Belgrade, concluded a capitulation, although he still commanded a garrison of twenty thousand men. A. D. 1718. A treaty of peace for twenty-four lunar years was concluded at Passarowitz, in Servia, under the mediation of England and Holland; by which the emperor retained Belgrade and the Bannat of Temeswar, and a free commerce was secured, both to his old and new subjects, in all the harbors of the Black Sea and of the Danube, as well as a reciprocal commerce between them and the Persians. The Venetians had the misfortune to be deprived of the Morea; and received only a few frontier places for the security of Dalmatia, which were by no means an adequate compensation. No alliance as yet subsisted between Russia and Austria.

A. D. 1728. Achmed was afterwards involved in the disturbances of Persia, where a youth from Candahar, who had followed the occupation of a shepherd in the mountains, undertook to restore the throne of the sophi. Sha Thamas, one of that family, was still living: and Thamas Kuli Khan, the adventurer above mentioned, assumed the title of his slave, vanquished all his enemies, and afterward found a pretence, in the ingratitude of his master, to put that prince himself to death. Kuli Khan now assumed the title of Sha Nadir, and defeated the Ottoman Turks: and this misfortune was the real occasion, as well as the pretext, of the insurrection by which the padisha was deposed from his sovereignty.

Three janissaries, named Kalil, Moslu, and Ali, planted the standard of insurrection before the moschee of sultan Bajessid; and their party became formidable before either the visier or the sultan received any intimation of their proceedings. The grand visier Ibrahim, a renegado from Armenia, possessed the favor of his master and had acquired reputation by his distinguished talents and virtues. At the moment when the insurrection broke out, the court was at Scutari, where it was engaged in equipping an expedition against the Persians: Achmed hastened back, and offered pardon to the authors of the commotion, on condition that they should lay down their arms; but he neglected the means of compelling them to do so. The grand visier advised the adoption of the most vigorous measures: but Achmed forgot himself; and in a short time the arsenal, the greater part of the city, and the district around the palace were in the hands of the rebels, who demanded and received the heads of the grand visier and of two other ministers. Ibrahim now refused to pray, as the Moslems usually did under such circumstances. "I have," said he, "yet a minute to live; why should I give myself so much trouble?" From this moment none dared to appear in public on the side of the emperor: the rebels soon sent the imam of the great mosque to the palace, which he entered on the 16th of October, (A. D. 1730); and assured the grandees that the people demanded a change

in the administration: a deep silence pervaded the assembly; when the imam, addressing himself to the padisha, said, "O Achmed, thy reign is at an end; they will no longer have thee to rule over them!" The emperor now stood up, and said, "Why did you not say so before?" He then proceeded to the prison, where his nephew the sultan Mahmud had been confined ever since the dethronement of his brother, during a period of twenty-seven years; led the prince to the throne; nominated him padisha, and said, "Mustafa, thy father, lost his government because he abandoned himself blindly to the counsels of the mufti Feiz Ullah; and I have also placed too great confidence in the visier Ibrahim pasha; but do thou watch over thy ministers, and thou shalt reign happily!" He now took his station in the apartment which Mahmud had just quitted, where he lived six years.

In the same night, all the nobles kissed the hem of the garment of the padisha Mahmud; and on the following morning he made his appearance at the door of good fortune, on the throne of the great Solyman. He flattered the authors of the insurrection as long as they appeared formidable: the gift of grace was bestowed on eighty thousand infantry and twenty thousand spatris; and the city seemed at length completely restored to tranquillity. A divan was afterwards held to consult on the affairs of Persia, to which Kalil, Moslu and Ali were summoned. The body-guards of the prince were stationed round the assembly, and no armed person was admitted: the Aga Mustapha suddenly arose, exclaiming, "Death to the enemies of the padisha!" Kalil was put to death after a feeble resistance; Moslu stood wrapped in his mantle, and remained unmoved, awaiting the stroke that put an end to his days; and after Ali had also been dispatched, six thousand of their adherents were massacred in all the different quarters of the city. An amnesty was now proclaimed; five hundred thousand dollars were distributed among the janissaries, and a splendid festival was given. Thus ended the reign of Achmed the Third, who lost his crown by paying more attention to the accumulation of

treasure than to acquiring the reverence and affection of his people: he had connived at the extortions of his ministers and deputies, in order to possess himself, at one stroke, of their ill-gotten wealth.

## SECTION XL.

### THE TURKISH WAR OF 1736.

Biren put the force of Russia in motion against Mahmud: the real motive of this armament was his jealousy of Münnich; although he alleged some infringements of the frontiers by the Nogay Tartars, as the pretence. Anna Ivanovna took no concern in affairs of this kind, public business being insupportably fatiguing to her.

The Russians began the war by an irruption into the fertile and beautiful peninsula of the Crimea, which was occupied without difficulty: but Münnich, who was a man of excellent understanding and extraordinary activity, found it a much more arduous task to restrain the disorders committed by his officers and soldiers. The resistance opposed by the enemy had cost him only two thousand men; but twenty-eight thousand were destroyed by their own excesses, in a warm climate, the country being every where laid waste, and at a great distance from their magazines. Between the Crimea and the Ukraine lies a very extensive grassy plain, in which for two hundred miles there is scarcely an hillock, and neither a town, village, nor a single shady spot: Tartars mounted on fleet horses traverse this country, and attack their enemy unawares. Thirty thousand Russians were occupied during the whole winter, in breaking the ice, in order to prevent these hordes from crossing the Dnieper, breaking up their quarters, and plundering the baggage.

A. D. 1737. Oczakoff was afterwards taken in three days, because the Russians were badly provided with draught cattle and horses, and were therefore obliged to bombard the place without delay. Six thousand men were destroyed by the explosion of two powder magazines; and

the Russians took advantage of this disaster, and immediately attacked and carried the town by storm. The Turks fought desperately; and Münnich did not spare his men, twenty thousand of whom fell by the sword and by disease. The discipline practised by Münnich was suitable to the barbarism of his army: some of his soldiers having thrown themselves on the ground, pretending to be exhausted, he gave orders that whoever fell during a march should be instantly buried, and insisted upon the execution of this horrid command. The surgeons' mates and the musicians were compelled by stripes to the performance of their duties. The enemy attempted to regain possession of the ruins of Oczakoff, but were repulsed with the loss of twenty thousand men: the pikes of the Russians, commanded by Stoffeln, were found to be more effective than the sabres of the janissaries.

General Wallis, in pursuance of the treaty concluded between Russia and Austria, and on the same principles on which the Russians supported the party of Austria and Saxony in Poland, marched through Hungary against the common enemy. But prince Eugene was no more; and this war was begun at a period when peace was particularly desirable, on account of the approaching decease of Charles the Sixth: scarcely half of the imperial states of Germany promised to pay the Turkish tribute, and only a third part of that half performed the promise. A. D. 1738.

Münnich proceeded through Moldavia, in order to approach nearer to the Austrian army: but a multitude of difficulties which he encountered in that country, impeded his progress and diminished his effective force. He lost an incalculable number of cattle, and was consequently obliged to bury some of his artillery, because it was impossible to transport it; he was also forced to leave behind many other useful articles, and it became impossible to keep the army together.

General Münnich opened the last campaign with sixty-eight thousand men: and in the passes of Chötin, where ten thousand men are capable of keeping hundreds of thousands in check, the Turks fled as soon as he appeared. The Russians were afterwards betrayed by their ignorance of

tha country, into a situation where a hundred pieces of cannon could be brought to bear upon them on all sides: but the Turks were neither able to calculate the distances nor to level their guns rightly; and Münnich extricated himself from his perilous situation by marching across a morass which appeared impassable. The enemy now fled in a panic; Chötin declared for the enemy; the states of Moldavia submitted to prince Kantemir, who was in the Russian interest; and the army approached the Danube. But the Germans under Wallis and Hildburghausen lost the battles of Banialuka and the Timok; and the well-directed Turkish musquetry gained another victory at Krotzka on the Danube. By the treaty of peace, which was concluded precipitately, and without the consent of Charles the Sixth, Belgrade, Sabatsch, and all the territory which had belonged to Austria, either in Servia or on the side of Wallachia, was abandoned. The Turks now broke off the treaty which they had begun to negociate at Niemeroff with the Russians; and the burden of war began to be oppressive to the empress.

Mahmud however was desirous of peace; and Villeneuve, the French ambassador, mediated the treaty, in which Azoff, situated on the Mæotic marshes, was transferred to the Russians; but which instead of containing any thing conclusive with regard to the relations of Poland, the navigation of the Black Sea, or the boundaries on the side of the Dnieper, only left the seeds of future wars to be developed at a more convenient season.

No examples of military skill equal to the splendid instances already mentioned, were displayed either by the Russians or the Turks: but the names of the deserts and of places of ancient fame, filled Europe with obscure representations of great things. Russia had brought into action, by land and water, a force of 250,000 men; and the number of her subjects who contributed to the capitation tax, amounted to 5,091,000.

## SECTION XLI.

### SHA NADIR.

The provinces which had been acquired by Peter the Great were about this time restored to Persia.

A. D. 1730. Asraf the Afghan, nephew of the rebel Mirweis, had been killed in battle by Thamas Kuli Khan: the sophi Sha Thamas had been restored to his kingdom, but had been afterwards again dethroned and put to death, (A. D. 1732,) because he had abandoned Georgia and Armenia to the Turks; and was survived by his son Sha Abbas, only a few years. A. D. 1736. Thamas Kuli Khan, as the conqueror of the countries which the Turks had formerly severed from the kingdom of Persia, received the title of Sha Nadir, on the banks of the Kura. The petty tribes inhabiting the mountainous tract, to whom the Russians made annual presents, in order to preserve the peace of their frontiers, maintained their independence only by the nature of the passes of Caucasus: but the Sha, to whom the Sublime Porte and the Mogol were both obliged to yield, was overcome by the Lesgians.

Sha Nadir defeated Abdullah pasha, the general of the Turks; obtained possession of the important fortress of Genscha, the ancient Tefflis, and the whole country of Grusinia; and received from the Russians the ports of the Caspian and the pass of Derbent. On the other hand, the commerce of Ghilan was retained, and even the Sha caused vessels to be constructed by an Englishman named Elton, at Langeruth: but the dread of commotions under so despotic a government, prevented the success of pacific institutions.

The Russians, at the request of Abulchair, a prince of that country, founded the government of Orenburg, by means of which the commercial road was diverted from the scenes of blood exhibited in Persia, and the productions of India were now conveyed through Bucharia into the ter-

ritory of Russia. The country of Orenburg at that time yielded a revenue of 1375 roubles: but that sum was increased in a few years to 65,912; and it has been known to yield above 100,000.

## SECTION XLII.

### DEATH OF ANNA, EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

No individual took less interest in these transactions than Anna Ivanovna; and even the court of Russia was sufficiently occupied in settling the succession to the throne of that empire. Catharine, duchess of Mecklenburg, a sister of the empress, had a daughter named Anna: general Löwenwold and the chancellor Ostermann, advised that this princess should be married to a foreign prince, and that their son, if they should have one, should be declared the successor of the present empress, whose government they expected to strengthen by this measure. The general proposed duke Antony Ulrich of Brunswick-Bevern, as the future husband of the princess: but he had the misfortune to be at first disagreeable both to the empress and her niece; and it was a long time before his modesty and gentleness, assisted by the intercession of the emperor of Germany, who was on friendly terms with the family of Brunswick, succeeded in surmounting these difficulties. Anna, however, at length consented to espouse this prince, to whom she bore Ivan, who was nominated by the present empress as her successor. Ernest of Biren afterwards exerted himself to obtain the appointment of regent; and the other ministers, who were convinced that he could not maintain his authority in that station without their assistance, and were at the same time uncertain, whether in the event of their refusal to comply with his wishes, he might not find some opportunity of revenging the disappointment on themselves, during the life of the empress, consented to draw up the testament in the form which he desired. By this instrument, if Ivan should die without heirs, the election of a new emperor

was confided to him, with the assistance of the other cabinet ministers, the senate, and the generals. The empress died in the year 1740.

## SECTION XLIII.

### THE EAST INDIES AND NADIR SHA.

During the period in which the west and the north of Europe were respectively filled with glory and confusion by the arms of Lewis the Fourteenth and of Peter the Great, Hindostan had been governed for nearly half a century by the Mogolic sultan Aurengzebe, son of Sha Yehan, whom he had dethroned, with reputation in arms, but by means of terror and severity. In the peninsula which lies between the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, he subjected the original tribes of Hindus, as well as the remains of the Arabic conquerors; placed a subahdar, and a number of nabobs over the districts of the Deccan, and imposed a regular tax upon all the rajahs. His annual revenue was estimated at 38,000,000 of pounds sterling. The spirit of the great Timur, who was the eleventh ancestor of Aurengzebe, revived in this latter prince, and again disappeared at his decease. A. D. 1707.

Azem, his son, was murdered by his brother, (A. D. 1712); Hindustan was torn by conflicting parties, of whom six regents within the space of eight years were alternately the puppets and the victims. A. D. 1720. After Furruksir had suffered the loss of his eyes and an ignominious death, two brothers raised four successive sultans to the throne, and put them all to death by sword or poison, within as many months.

At length the blood-polluted throne was ascended by Mahmud Sha, a voluptuous prince; who, in order to avoid becoming the object of personal hatred, confided all public business to the nobles and his ministers; these officers offended or neglected the subahdar of the Deccan, who invited Sha Nadir to invade the East Indies.

A. D. 1738. The Persian warrior marched into that

country at the head of an army inured to war, and greedy of plunder, and defeated with the utmost ease the innumerable but disorderly troops of the Mogol. Mahmud laid down his crown and sceptre at the feet of the conqueror: Delhi, his capital, was taken; and, in order that this age might no longer doubt the atrocities said to have been committed by Attila and Genserich in the fifth century, one hundred thousand persons were massacred on the same day; and every individual whose appearance rendered it probable that he was acquainted with concealed treasures, was subjected to the most horrid tortures. A holy dervise on this occasion presented himself to the victor, and said, "Invincible Sha! if thou art a god, show thy resemblance to the Deity by thy clemency; if thou art a prophet, show unto us the way of salvation; if thou art a king, put us not to death, but reign over us and make us happy." Nadir Sha replied, "I am not a god that I should forgive, nor a prophet that I should teach, nor your king that I should reign over you; but I am he whom God sends in his wrath to punish the nations of the earth!" His expedition cost the lives of 200,000 persons; the treasure which he carried back into Persia is estimated at 70,000,000 pounds sterling; and he extended the bounds of his empire to the banks of the Indus.

Having learned that five hundred of his followers intended to desert to the independent tribes which inhabit Caucasus, he caused their eyes to be cut out with knives: on the same account he punished seven hundred men in a similar manner on the banks of the Kura, and caused a tower to be erected with the heads of one hundred and ninety-two of their principal leaders. He ordered his own son to be deprived of his eyes, because he was too much the object of affection. He plundered the sacred temple of the Parsi at Ardewi; obliged the priests to become soldiers, and caused the mosques to be converted into stables for his horses. The inhabitants of the frontiers now took flight and abandoned their country; Kalluschkin, the Russian resident, and the learned Tatishtschew, governor of Astrachan, enriched themselves by selling the necessaries of life to the remaining people of these deva-

tated countries, for ten times their ordinary price; and children were sold to the Russians.

Nadir Sha intended to transport all the inhabitants of the country bordering on the Caspian, to the coasts of the ocean; and the maritime tribes to the habitations of the former. For the success of all his enterprises, he relied on his treasure, which was deposited at Kalath, in Chorasan. His soldiers sometimes received no pay during nine months, and would have been glad to exchange their arms mounted with silver for bread: but whoever offended against any military duty, was deprived of his ears or of part of his lips; or was suspended by the feet, and beaten on the soles until the bone was laid bare.

The Sha took a journey into Chorasan, for the purpose of visiting his treasure; and his thoughts were of blood, when on the night of the fifteenth of May, (A. D. 1747,) he was attacked by his own guards in his camp at Turschis: he attempted to defend himself, and wounded three of his assailants; but was overpowered by numbers, and lost his hands and his head. The conspirators placed his nephew Adil, a voluptuous youth, on the vacant throne.

## SECTION XLIV.

### THE COURT OF ROME.

In Italy, the chair of the apostles (after the pontificate of the furious Albani, Clement the Eleventh, and the short administration of the more gentle Conti, or Innocent the Thirteenth,) devolved on Benedict the Thirteenth, of the family of Orsini, (A. D. 1724,) who was a learned theologian and a pious man, but unacquainted with men and with the world: he committed the cares of business to cardinal Coscia, an ignorant man of low origin, but subtle and hypocritical. The pope allowed himself to be guided also by Saverio di St. Maria, a young man whose pious eyes were continually fixed upon the earth; who appeared in the papal chambers in the garb of St. Paul, but in other places

showed himself to be selfish, avaricious, tyrannical, and devoted to the most flagitious vices. These persons were assisted by Fini, a cardinal worthy of such society. The pope summoned an ecclesiastical council, the acts of which were so altered in passing through the press, that the bull "*Unigenitus*" was declared to be an article of the catholic faith: the unsuspecting Benedict had no idea of the boldness and cunning of the Jesuits and Jansenists.

The marquis Ormea, who was Piedmontese minister of state, and the cardinals Fini and Alessandro Albani, the latter of whom was a patron of the fine arts, about the same time induced the pope, through the influence of the able prelate Lambertini, to confer the power of nomination to the principal benefices on the king of Sardinia: a compact of such injurious tendency to the interests of the apostolic chamber, that the chancery hesitated to prepare the documents relating to it.

Prosper Lambertini, who enjoyed great reputation as a man of learning, and still greater on account of his practical wisdom, composed the difference respecting the privileges of monarchy, with the new possessors of Sicily, in a manner favorable to the court of Rome, by a compact in which the tribunal of Sicily abandoned the right of interfering in the secret administration of criminal justice exercised within the convents, in relation to all such offences as should not produce any public scandal. By this *concordat* Lambertini acquired the favor of the court of Sicily, and by the latter arrangement, that of Rome; but the compact with Sicily was by no means favorable to the interests of humanity, as by it the life of a harmless monk may be rendered miserable by party violence, or private animosity, without the possibility of redress.

Benedict canonized Gregory the Seventh without really understanding what he was doing: the greater number of the catholic churches refused to acknowledge this saint; and his effigies were burned in France by the hands of the common hangman.

A. D. 1730. Corsini, or pope Clement the Twelfth, investigated the proceedings of the favorites of his predecessor, and punished them for their misdeeds. He was

blind, and generally in an ill state of health; and was chiefly anxious to provide for his family, to whom he is said to have left an income of one hundred and twenty thousand scudi.

Rome continued to insist peremptorily on her former pretensions with regard to weak states; maintained them to the utmost of her ability against the more powerful, and endeavored to forget the loss of what it was impossible for her longer to retain.

## SECTION XLV.

### THE LAST OF THE MEDICI: THE STATES OF ITALY.

John Gasto, the last of the Medici, who had been an intelligent prince, but had entirely abandoned himself to his caprices and his pleasures because he knew that his political importance was nothing, was now dead. The administration of the house of Lorraine was detested, because it was foreign; and even the real reforms introduced into the government were regarded as the mere inventions of avarice. A. D. 1737.

The rest of Europe scarcely observed that one of the smallest republics had lost its freedom, which was its noblest possession, for a few weeks, by the command of the blind pope Corsini, and by means of the same cardinal Alberoni, who, for a moment, had shaken the whole frame of Europe. The republic of San Merino is situated on the mountain of Titan, and confined within its limits. The senate modestly prayed for the restoration of their independence.

After Venice had forfeited the Peloponnesus, that republic remained in a state of inactivity: its treasures were exhausted, and the sources of its opulence had ceased to be productive.

The last princes of the house of Este, dukes of Modena, who had learned wisdom from the example of the Gonzaga at Mantua, endeavored to avoid giving offence either to the Austrians or to the Spaniards, who were

seeking a pretence for obtaining a sovereignty for Don Carlos.

The watchful superintendence of the Austrian government was observed with indignation by the nobility of Parma, Milan, and Mantua.

Genoa was engaged in a war against her discontented Corsican subjects, who complained of the selfishness of the administration to which they were subjected; of the insidious policy by which the spirit of faction was supported; and of the *non procedatur*, a formula by which Genoa interrupted the course of justice as often as she thought proper. A. D. 1729. The lamentations of a poor woman, whose household furniture was seized because she was unable to pay a tax of a few farthings, excited the ferment which had long existed, and produced a war which lasted forty years. The neighbors of the woman hastened to her assistance; the inhabitants of the nearest villages joined the cause, and one hamlet after another appeared in arms. Genoa, with the assistance of Charles the Sixth, succeeded at a vast expense in extinguishing the flame, but only for a moment. Theodor von Neuhoff, a nobleman of Westphalia, afterwards placed himself at the head of the Corsicans, with the title of king. Although his design miscarried, and Genoa received assistance from the Swiss, (though but for a short time,) and from banditti, yet Corsica would not have been subdued, if some ill-timed signs of preference for the English had not rendered France inimical to her cause. Boisseux and Maillebois gained some advantages in a petty war of posts; and the latter intended to inspire terror by his severity: but he had scarcely turned his back on the country, when the opposition to Genoa was increased even by priests, women, and children, under the command of Gaffari and Matra.

The Genoese were next involved in many disputes about the imperial fief of Final. They had purchased this barony from Charles the Sixth, but with the reservation of its privileges; for the emperor could alienate only his own right. This petty territory felt itself under oppression, and found protection: Genoa resolved to sell it to

the Spaniards; which, however, the emperor would not permit.

Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, governed with prudence and vigilance. The activity of this prince embraced every object: he maintained order as well as king Frederick William the First of Prussia, and lived in a style of great splendor: he ascertained his income at the commencement of every year, and regulated his expenses accordingly. As no object was of greater importance to the security and authority of his family, than the maintenance of the passes of Italy, he strengthened them to the utmost of his power by the aid of Bertola. His fortifications on the side of Genoa were less considerable in extent; where he only provided Villafranca with a few new works: for he thought vigilance more effectual than fortifications in preventing a hostile passage across the Varo, and an invasion of Piedmont on the side of the Col de Tenda. He increased the strength of Coni, at the confluence of the Stura and Gesso; but thought the valley of the Stura sufficiently secured by Demont. Varrue, Chivasso, Vercelle, and Casal, began to lose their importance; instead of which, the king completed the defences of Novara and Alessandria: and he rendered Fenestrelles so strong, that this place held out against four sieges before it was taken. Charles Emanuel made the arsenal at Turin bomb proof; and provided it with a fund, out of which four times as many arms could be procured as would equip the whole army of Piedmont.

The marquis d' Ormea, his minister of state, acquired the reputation of acuteness and correct calculation, of great soundness of understanding and profound secrecy.

## SECTION XLVI.

### THE SWISS AND DUTCH.

Switzerland was insulated in a greater degree than it had ever before been; for since Spain had lost Milan, the

connection with this power remained a mere speculation of individuals who undertook to furnish regiments; and no alliance subsisted between the most powerful of the cantons and France.

The new maxims of the constitution and modern customs had already begun to shake the foundations of the internal government.

Schafhausen and Basel had been the theatres of commotions relating to the mode of elections; some parts of Appenzell were thrown into confusion by the quarrels of contending parties; a spirit of liberty was faintly perceptible among the subjects of the abbot of St. Gall; and a degree of dissatisfaction existed in Bern, which would have shaken the fabric of the state in a dangerous manner, if its object had been of a more comprehensive nature, and had been equally interesting to the peasants as to the inhabitants of the towns.

Holland was held in equipoise by two factions; one of which wished for the restoration of the authority of the stadtholder and a close connection with Great Britain and Austria; the other desired to have no stadtholder, and to maintain a perfect neutrality: but the advantage which arises from such a system is attainable by very few countries, on account of their situation.

## SECTION XLVII.

### ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA.

Sir Robert Walpole had reduced the national debt of England, during his long administration, to forty-six million pounds sterling. He was a man of sound judgment, and of great perseverance in the execution of such resolutions as had been adopted on sufficient grounds: but the commercial class was jealous of the Spaniards; the naval part of the nation wished for an opportunity of displaying its prowess; and the opposition urged the commencement of a war, which, in its progress, often endangered the stability both of the throne and of the ministry, by the vicis-

situdes of fortune. Spain had granted privileges for a certain number of years to a company of English merchants called the Assiento; by which they were empowered to transport a determinate quantity of valuable wood from Campeachy, situated in the American bay of Honduras: A. D. 1739. Spain accused this company of carrying on a contraband commerce, and the company complained of hostile treatment on the part of the Spaniards: and these mutual recriminations gave rise to the war in which admiral Vernon blockaded Portobello. But the court of London, which had been forced into this war against its inclination, conducted it negligently; and a treaty was soon concluded by Keane, on the part of the English, and the marquis of Villarias on that of Spain, which received its name from the Spanish castle of Pardo. The English nation, however, was displeased with this peace, and the privateers continued their enterprises.

The king of Denmark sought for the sources of opulence in the commerce of the Indies and America: but the circumstances of his country with regard to agriculture and manufactures, the real foundations of commerce, were not sufficiently flourishing; and hence this trade caused the exportation of a greater quantity of specie than of manufactures.

Sweden was desirous of repose; but the spirit of faction allowed her not to enjoy that blessing: her participation in the war subsequent to the death of the elder Frederick Augustus, was almost inevitable; and the dread of the Russians, against whose power cardinal Fleury was unable to afford Sweden any very effectual assistance, induced this country to prefer the renewal of the alliance with Russia, to a subsidiary treaty with France, which was already in progress. This resolution gave rise to vehement commotions on the part of the adherents of France, who seemed rather to remember what Sweden had formerly been able to effect, than to consider how greatly the relative power of the states was now changed. Five members of the council of the kingdom were at length displaced, and the party of the court and of France obtained the superiority. A. D. 1739.

## SECTION XLVIII.

### CONCLUSION.

The pacific Fleury, who was now nearly ninety years old, contented with the acquisition of Lorraine as the foundation of his posthumous reputation, still guided the councils of France; the preservation of peace was also the favorite object of Walpole and of the Dutch; the court of Russia, now under the government of a czar only a few months old, seemed disposed to avoid any important movements; the maternal affection of the queen of Spain for her son Don Carlos, had cause to be satisfied; and neither the inactive court of Portugal, nor the exhausted kingdom of Sweden, nor the tranquil administration of Denmark, nor the character of Mahmud, who was inclined to peace and pleasure, threatened to disturb the repose of Europe. At this conjuncture Maria Theresa, now in her twenty-fourth year, and Frederick king of Prussia, in his twenty-ninth, ascended their respective thrones. The former succeeded to the government of an ancient and extensive, but enfeebled monarchy, the possession of which was secured to her by amicable compacts with the whole of Europe; the latter to a sovereignty of far less extent, whose chief foundation had been a body of excellent troops and a considerable treasure: the princess was occupied only with the wish and the resolution to defend her hereditary crowns; the king, eager to obtain personal distinction, and desirous of confirming the power which had been founded by his father and great grandfather, on such foundations as should give it a degree of consistency less dependent on the variable caprices of fortune, and on the talents of kings or statesmen.

# BOOK XXIII.

## MARIA THERESA, FREDERICK, AND NORTH AMERICA.

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## SECTION I.

### THE FIRST SILESIAN WAR.

Charles the Sixth died on the 20th of October, 1740: and notwithstanding all Europe had guaranteed the indivisibility of his dominions, the king of Prussia took possession of Silesia on the 13th of the following December. Prussia contained only 2,200,000 inhabitants, and its revenue did not exceed 14,000,000 dollars: its king was acting in direct contravention of a treaty which had become a fundamental law of Europe, and he could expect assistance neither from France nor England. The efficacy of the system of tactics introduced by his father, was not yet known: and the enterprises of Frederick were regarded as the adventures of an inexperienced youth, who would probably be made to pay dearly for his wild caprices. Silesia consisted of seven principalities and six lordships: it was inhabited by a population tolerably numerous in proportion to the extent of its territory, and amounting to 1,500,000: the taxes were not oppressive from their amount, though they were unequally distributed; and the inhabitants were for the most part industrious and intelligent. The pretence of which Frederick availed himself for the justification of his measures, was the inalienable right of his family to the principality of Jägerndorf, which George, margrave of Brandenburg, had purchased about the year 1524, from George, baron of Schellenberg, husband of the heiress of that principality

The crown of Bohemia, of which Jägerndorf was a fief, had given its consent to this transaction. The son of this margrave transferred the principality to his cousin John Frederick,. elector of Brandenburg, who left the territory which he had thus acquired to his second son, the margrave John George. A. D. 1623. The latter was involved in the proceedings of Frederick, the elector palatine, who caused himself to be crowned king of Bohemia; shared his misfortunes, and was outlawed by Ferdinand as a rebellious vassal: he died, and his son left no children. At the peace of Westphalia, the claims of the electoral family were referred for their settlement to a future discussion: and the king now demanded not only Jägerndorf, but Nutzniessung also, which had been alienated upwards of eight hundred years.

In addition to this claim, Frederick, duke of Lignitz, of the family of the Piasts, had concluded a treaty of inheritance with Brandenburg in the year 1537, which had been recognized as valid by the states of the country. Ferdinand, as king of Bohemia and lord paramount of the princes of Silesia, annulled this treaty, and the duke was compelled to abandon it. The ducal line of Lignitz became extinct, (A. D. 1596); and their territory devolved on a collateral branch of their family, which reigned at Brieg and Wolau. A. D. 1675. The latter expired in its turn, exactly at the time when the great elector, Frederick William, was not only in a situation to prosecute with vigor those claims which his father would have been obliged to let fall; but was also able to hold out to the protestants of Silesia, who had been extremely oppressed, a prospect of becoming the subjects of a prince of their own creed: yet his situation did not permit him to take advantage of their wishes; and his son was content to abandon all his pretensions of that nature for a sum of money. The king, however, now set up the maxim, that in the house of Brandenburg no alienation of possessions or pretensions is obligatory on the successor; and it was in vain urged, that his grandfather had received the sovereignty of Schwibus, a recognition of his claims on East Friesland, and a sum of 250,000 florins, as a compensation.

The king gained possession of the province without difficulty; because, as his attack was unexpected, no measures had been taken to prevent its success. A. D. 1741. He afterwards offered to the heiress of Charles the Sixth, as the price of her renunciation of Silesia, 2,000,000 florins in money, his assistance for the preservation of her remaining dominions, and his influence in favor of the election of her husband to the empire. The court of Vienna opposed to these pretensions the constitution of the empire, and the guaranteed pragmatic sanction which forbade every division of the hereditary dominions of Austria. In truth, there was ground to fear that submission might tempt the cupidity of other powers; and that any manifestation of weakness or timidity might deprive the new sovereign of her political importance: and finally, it was reasonable to expect that the cavalry which had been trained by Montecuculi, and the army of the great Eugene, so often victorious, would be able to sustain a contest against a body of infantry which had been raised and disciplined in profound peace, and whose evolutions seemed fitter for parade than for real service. The cavalry under general Römer, in the plains of Mollwitz, kept the victory for a long time undecided: but that commander was not able sufficiently to restrain his impetuosity; and general Neipperg was obliged to yield to the superiority which the enemy derived from his dexterity in close fighting, and in rapid and well-directed volleys. Maria Theresa, the empress queen, offered to abandon to the king a part of the territory which he had conquered; but Frederick, who was well acquainted with the difficulties under which she labored from other quarters, demanded remuneration for the expenses which he had incurred in the prosecution of the war; and immediately entered into connection with Bavaria and France.

## SECTION II.

### CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

A party desirous of war, at the head of which were the marshal Bellisle and his brothers, combated the pacific intentions of cardinal Fleury: "All western Europe," said they, "from Calais to Gibraltar, and the half of Italy now obey the Bourbons; the time is come to follow out the plan of Henry the Great, by destroying forever the rival power of the ancient house of Austria; to revenge the days of Pavia, St. Quentin, Höchstädt, and Ramillies; and to obtain for the French nation a perpetual and incontestible superiority in the affairs of Europe. The court of Vienna is exhausted by war; the empire has many injuries to revenge on the descendant of the Ferdinands. Sixty years have not elapsed since Hungary was deprived of its ancient rights; let the king assert the claims of the son of that Bavarian elector who was formerly rendered unfortunate by the friendship of France, and he will serve his benefactor on the throne of the Cæsars: a word, a demonstration, the display of a small portion of our power, is sufficient to complete this great work!" The cardinal, fatigued and overcome, though not convinced, at first adopted the resolution, that Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, should be supported in the imperial election: and negotiations were afterwards entered into with the king of Prussia.

The relations subsisting between England and Spain, were undetermined: it would have been conformable to the interests of Britain, to restore Sicily and Naples to Austria; and Ostend would have been a bribe sufficient to have procured the support of an English army in an attempt to recover Lorraine, and in the election of the husband of Maria Theresa.

Charles Philip, elector palatine, the last member of the first branch of the family of Neuburg, died about this period; and was succeeded by Charles Theodore, count palatine of Sulzbach, a descendant of Augustus, the second

son of Philip Lewis, duke of Neuburg. Prussia had extended the already subsisting convention of Cleves, through which she possessed Juliers and Berg, to the line of Sulzbach. A. D. 1742. She had granted this resolution as a signal favor.

George the Second, king of Great Britain and elector of Brunswick, who had a strong predilection for his electoral dominions, and managed its affairs with an accurate knowledge of its interests, took the part of Maria Theresa, as well on account of the ascendancy which her ruin would give to the French, as of that which the court of Prussia would acquire by further victories in the north of Germany. Holland followed its own maxims: Sweden was disposed to the side of the French; and at Petersburg the interest of Austria was preponderant.

The French court endeavored to excite the Swedes to give employment to Russia, in order that the latter might not be able to compel the king of Prussia to submit; and two months after France had engaged to effect that object, Sweden declared war against Russia on pretence of undefined grievances, and on suspicion of having been a party to the murder of major-general Sinclair; Sparre, a Swedish counsellor of state, expected with ten thousand men, to obtain possession without difficulty, of Wiborg, and even of Presburg.

Meanwhile the forces of the Bavarians, supported by France, invaded Austria. Charles Albert laid claim to the hereditary dominions, as son of the sister of Charles the Sixth; the valuables of Vienna began to be conveyed to Grätz and Petersburg; Upper Austria acknowledged the elector; Bohemia was taken; and the enemy called Maria Theresa only the grand duchess of Tuscany.

In this pressing emergency she presented herself, with her infant son Joseph, the descendant of so many sovereigns, to the diet of the Hungarians. This appeal excited them to the magnanimous resolution of sacrificing their properties and lives in her defence, and rendered her formidable to her enemies; who, forgetting to estimate the effects of her presence of mind, and the potency of beauty and innocence under persecution, had supposed her power

to be already annihilated. Hungary, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Transylvania, and the utmost limits of the Christian world, now poured forth a swarm of impetuous hordes, who annoyed the enemy by the extreme celerity of their attacks, intercepted his supplies, and terrified him even by the sight of their horrid figures. The French auxiliary army of the Bavarians, consisting of thirty thousand men, was soon reduced to half that number.

Marshal Bellisle, who was in Frankfort urging on the election, from that post directed the movements of the army in Bohemia: and his jealousy of the duke di Broglio soon became equally prejudicial to the French arms. Cardinal Fleury gave authentic demonstrations of his dislike to this unrighteous war; and the allies perceived that he intended to embrace the earliest opportunity of bringing it to a conclusion.

The king of Sardinia had been neglected by France, and was too sagacious to wish that one of his two powerful neighbors should acquire the whole sway of the continent, or to believe that Europe would permit the French to obtain it: and therefore, after having published his claims to the dukedom of Milan, (A. D. 1743,) he concluded a compact at Worms with Austria and Great Britain; by which he engaged to keep an army of forty-five thousand men in Lombardy, at the disposal of both those powers: for this object the court of St. James's assisted him with a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds sterling. Maria Theresa transferred to him that part of the Milanese dominion which comprises the district of Vigevano; a portion of the Pavesan territory lying on the hither side of the Ticino and to the southward of the Po; Bobbio, and the fertile county of Anghiera, which commands the Lago Maggiore and the entrance of the passes of the Simplon: and a negotiation was adopted relative to the imperial fief of Final.

This last proceeding alarmed Genoa: the senate of that town directed its views toward the French for assistance; which, however, it dared not to ask. Venice hastened its ministerial connection with the court of Turin, which had been interrupted by the frivolous claim to the possession

of Cyprus. This conjuncture appeared to the queen of Spain, to be a favorable moment for the acquisition of an Italian sovereignty for her second son Don Philip. Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, after a long period of hesitation, declared himself in favor of the court of Vienna, to which he was chiefly indebted for his crown.

Great Britain prepared for war in the cause of Maria Theresa.

All Europe, for the tranquillity of which, in the event which had now happened, Charles had provided with so much solicitude, was thrown into confusion by the tyrannical schemes of Frederick and the ambition of Bellisle. Thus Maria Theresa, Great Britain, Russia and Sardinia, were arranged on one side; and France, Prussia, Bavaria, Spain and Sweden on the other.

Cardinal Fleury in vain endeavored to settle these differences by mediation: Holland and the empire were both proposed for this purpose; but neither of these confederated republics had sufficient authority to give weight to their pacific wishes. The vizier of the Ottoman padisha offered himself as a mediator to persuade the Christians to restore peace; but the proposal excited only admiration.

During these movements among the courts, Frederick prosecuted his victories, the first of which was obtained at Chotusiz or Czaslau, and was owing to the perfect state to which he had brought his cavalry: in consequence of these defeats, the queen concluded the peace of Breslau, agreeably to his wishes. A. D. 1742.

The elector of Bavaria had now become the emperor Charles the Seventh; but as he was inefficiently supported by his confederates, and utterly destitute of the presence of mind necessary in his situation, he soon lost Upper Austria and Bohemia, and was even driven out of Bavaria. He lived in poverty and contempt at Frankfort, where he had been crowned with extraordinary magnificence: he left his family encumbered with a debt of forty millions, and died at the end of three years of continued misfortunes.

## SECTION III.

### THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR.

A. D. 1744. Frederick had indeed again resorted to arms, under the idea that if he could procure Bohemia for Charles the Seventh, he should render his government of Silesia more secure. In this contest he displayed at Hohenfriedberg the powers of his profound tactics; showed in the pass of Sorr how little advantage could be gained over him, even under the most adverse circumstances, and compelled the court of Saxony, by the victory which Dessau gained at Kesselsdorf, to sue for peace. A treaty which was concluded at Dresden, (A. D. 1745,) by Austria and Saxony on one side, and Prussia on the other, was promoted by George the Second, who wished to allay this feud, in order to unite the whole power of Austria against the Bourbons. The queen was compelled, by the unfavorable aspect of affairs in Saxony, to conclude this treaty; which confirmed to the king of Prussia his Silesian conquest. Francis, the husband of the queen, was afterwards elected emperor.

## SECTION IV.

### THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

As the weakness of Frederick Augustus had been the means of obliging Maria Theresa to make peace, so the court of France, which was now tired of the war, determined to attain the same object by an attack on Holland. The fortune of war was as yet undecided between France and England: George had gained the victory of Dettingen, and Lewis that of Fontenoy; and the events of the maritime war were in favor of Great Britain. This state of affairs had frustrated the objects of the congress of Breda. The French at length invaded Holland, which de-

sired in vain to maintain a neutrality that would have been to the advantage of England. Bergen-op-Zoom was taken: the terrors of the former victories of Lewis pervaded the ill-prepared republic; and its administration, enfeebled by divisions and tottering under its misfortunes, fell under the attempts of those who enforced the necessity of a common centre of power.

Within eight days after the French declaration of war, the town of Ter Veer, in Zealand, proposed to restore the power of the stadtholder in the person of William Henry Friso. This prince was the fifth descendant of John count of Nassau Dillenburg, brother of the first William of Orange, the founder of Belgic freedom: his ancestors had been stadtholders of the provinces of Friesland; and his heroic father, John William, had been declared, by William the Third, as grandson of his father's sister, the heir of the allodial possessions of the house of Orange. William the Fourth was himself stadtholder of Friesland and Guelders; and the influence of party spirit was so unbounded, that the power of the new stadtholder was not only declared hereditary, as it had been under king William, but inheritable by females.

From this moment Great Britain endeavored to rescue the United Provinces, by making peace with France.

The treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, (A. D. 1748,) and confirmed the stipulations of Breslau and Dresden with regard to Silesia, as well as those concluded at Worms in favor of Sardinia. The court of Spain was appeased with the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which Theresa transferred to the infant Don Philip. The court of France, which had formerly received Lorraine as the price of its forbearance from war, gained nothing by a contest of eight years, in which it incurred the loss of an innumerable multitude of men, and a national debt the annual interest of which amounted to sixty-nine millions. George the Second had maintained the balance of power at the expense of thirty-one millions of pounds sterling, which at this time was the amount of the debt of England.

Theresa had lost Silesia, Parma, Placentia, and a part of the Milanese territory; and, as if to show that the power

of a state depends not so much on the extent of dominion as on the administration of its resources, Austria became more flourishing and powerful under the government of this good and great princess, than it had ever been at any former period since the reign of the house of Habsburg. Her genius inspired the hereditary monarchy with new vigor; and every succeeding year repaid her maternal cares with a great increase of population and prosperity. Her army, in the succeeding war, broke the power of Frederick the Great; and on the second occasion he was unable to gain any advantage over it. Maria Theresa raised her monarchy, during the forty years of her reign, from the most dreadful crisis, and from the still greater difficulties of the seven years' war, to a degree of prosperity and vigor which rendered it the greatest empire in Europe.

## SECTION V.

### ELIZABETH, EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

A. D. 1741. In Russia the child Ivan bore the title of emperor: Ernest of Biren administered the regency; while the emperor's father, Antony Ulrich, carried the staff of commander-in-chief of the forces, but was entirely governed by the field-marshal-general count of Münnich. The regent committed the error of offending this important and ambitious man: in the cabinet he opposed count Bestuscheff to the chancellor Ostermann; he displeased the mother of the emperor by his pride, and neglected to employ any means for his own security. Münnich, who easily found means to lull Biren into security, promised the princess-mother to release her from his authority. Münnich repaired at two o'clock in the morning to her chamber: she commanded the palace guard to follow, who readily obeyed the voice of the old general. They broke into the apartments where Biren and his wife were asleep in the utmost security: Biren started up, and attempted to resist; but he was gagged, bound, and conveyed to the palace of the princess-mother. They also began to carry

his wife to the same place; but finding her too heavy, threw her half naked into the snow. On the following day the regent was imprisoned at Schlüsselburg: and thus ended the power of a man who had in fact governed Russia eleven years, merely because he was beloved by Anna Ivanovna.

Anna, the princess-mother, succeeded to the office of regent: Münnich became minister of war; Ostermann remained at the head of the foreign and naval departments; and Tscherkaskoi and Golovkin administered the affairs of the interior. But the insatiable ambition of Münnich was mortified when he perceived that all things were not conducted implicitly according to his will, owing in some measure to the complicated relations of the different powers. The king of Prussia obtained, by means of Winterfeld, a cousin of Münnich, a promise of a body of 12,000 Russian troops for his defence; but the Austrian minister, the Marchese di Botta Adorno, and count Lynar, minister of Saxony, against the will of Münnich, procured a renewal and confirmation of the alliance with Austria. This induced the minister of war to request his dismission; but his vanity was excessively mortified when he received it.

Before he could recover himself from his vexation, a surgeon belonging to the French colony at Celle, in the territory of Hanover, who had formerly been banished to Casan, and who was now in the service of the princess Elizabeth daughter of Peter the Great, triumphed over the policy of Ostermann; obliged Münnich to submit to the same treatment to which that general had formerly subjected Ernest of Biren; overthrew the Austrian party; and changed the order of succession to the throne.

This man was named Lestocq; he gained the affection of the body guard of Preobraschensky for Elizabeth, by means of money: the princess lived in a perfectly confidential manner with these soldiers, walked about leaning on their arms, and allowed them the most familiar liberties.

These occurrences were known in England and at Brussels: the regent was warned of her danger, but she was indolent and romantic; and instead of taking any precautions, amused herself, and a young lady named Mengden, with

plans for her conduct when she should become unfortunate: she made no communication on the subject to her husband, whose rude understanding was repulsive to her sensibility. In the night of the twenty-fifth December, Elizabeth made a vow to the Holy Virgin, that if she should become empress she would never shed blood. She adorned herself with the order of Catharine her mother; seated herself on a sledge; and drove, accompanied by Lestocq, and the chamberlain Woronzoff, to the guard of Preobraschensky. Lestocq called out aloud, 'Long live the daughter of Peter the Great; long live the empress Elizabeth!' Every voice re-echoed the cry: the most devoted of the officers and soldiers dispersed themselves in order to arrest the cabinet ministers; thirty men secured the persons of the emperor's parents, and on the following morning all the regiments present swore allegiance to the empress Elizabeth.

Anna, Antony Ulrich, and their unfortunate son Ivan, were soon conveyed to a fortress: six years afterwards Ivan was separated from his parents, and confined in a dungeon at Schlüsselburg, where he was for a long time excluded from the light of day, and was guarded by two officers, who dared not speak to him. His mother died; but Ulrich lived thirty years in a desert in the northern region. The chancellor Ostermann and General Münnich were condemned; the former to be beheaded and the latter to be quartered: and they both displayed, under these trying circumstances, a fortitude worthy of their names. Their lives were however spared at the place of execution: the chancellor died in solitude a few years afterwards at Beresow in Siberia, whither he had been banished: Münnich, the conqueror of Dantzig and Oczakoff, passed more than twenty years in the miserable village of Pelim, situated under the sixtieth degree of latitude, and on the banks of a river, which is frozen over during seven months of the year. Their wealth, the reward of forty years' service, was confiscated: each was allowed to make only one request previous to his banishment. Münnich wished to be permitted to retain his domestic chaplain;

## SECTION VII.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Disputes relating to the boundaries of Acadia and Canada, gave occasion to a new war between England and France, of which, however, the real cause lay in the reliance of the former country on its own superiority. Certain party leaders promoted this opinion for their own purposes; national hatred produced an alteration in the relative disposition of parties; and the opposition became clamorous for war.

While the sober wishes of the English were satisfied with a moderate degree of opulence, and before the rapid accumulation of immense wealth in the hands of individuals had produced habits of capricious and licentious profusion in its possessors, and discontent and selfish avarice among others in the place of the ancient simplicity of manners, the English were willing to pursue the pacific policy of Walpole. In the latter part of his administration, the impatience of the commercial part of the community had obliged him to enter into the short war with Spain: and in the year in which the battle of Dettingen took place, and nearly at the moment when the English declared war separately against the Bourbons, a succession of contests began in India, which lasted eighteen years. The animosity between the two nations was exasperated by the attempt made by the French, to raise Charles Stuart, the pretender, to the throne of the British islands. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle did not, in fact, put an end to the war carried on in India; and the ancient disputes concerning the boundaries of the French colony of Canada, and the British settlement of Acadia in America, were perpetuated by the obstinacy of the English, and the hopes and artifices of the court of Versailles.

Agreements relating to American concerns, between European ministers, had been concluded for the first time at the peace of Utrecht: in the Spanish war of succession, during which the maritime powers had displayed an unex-

pected degree of vigor, the attention of the cabinets had been first directed to the advantages of commerce and the colonies, as the sources of this new power: but the greater number of the statesmen who had grown old in the service of the courts and in the contemplation of continental interests, had only confused ideas on such subjects. In the eager haste for peace in which the treaty was concluded, Acadia had been transferred to the English with the "ancient boundaries" of that country, though the boundaries of Acadia had never been determined: and the consequence was, that this affair remained a subject of contest until the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; at which time it was declared that all matters relative to America should be replaced on the footing on which they "were, or ought to have been," previously to the war.

The king of England, whose attention was sufficiently occupied with the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, took no particular interest in these matters: but on the other hand, the English nation, especially since the time of lord Bolingbroke, the most learned, and intelligent minister of his age, regarded the continental affairs of Europe as foreign to their interests. The merchants confirmed the public in this opinion: the profits of the trade to the East Indies were so great and rapid, that the commerce of the North, and even that of the Levant, were neglected. Such was the state of public opinion on these points, when the commissaries proceeded, agreeably to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, to arrange matters on a reasonable footing in Acadia.

Rouillé, the French minister of marine, forbad Jonquiere, the governor of Canada, to claim any thing which did not belong to the king; but commanded him to maintain his just rights. The principal question related to the communication between Quebec, the capital of Canada, and Isle Royale, with Louisiana, which passed through the isthmus of Acadia, and behind the English colonies, between the Ohio and the mountains: a road which was likely to become dangerous to the colonies in time of war. The negociations were slowly conducted; and the English soon found occasion to complain of some petty aggressions on

the part of the French, and protested that they preferred a state of open war. A. D. 1754. An order was unexpectedly sent to general Braddock, to take possession with the force under his command, and with the assistance of the colonies, of the districts in dispute; for thus the object which the governor of Canada appeared to be accomplishing on the part of the French, by a succession of petty enterprises, would be at once effected in favor of the English. As this resolution, however, was not communicated to the court of France, the impartial states of Europe regarded it as contrary to the law of nations. This occurrence effected a total alteration in the political system.

England wished to carry on the war by sea only, in order to avoid the difficulties in which she had been involved before the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in consequence of the danger to which Holland was exposed. It was thought advisable, in order to avoid a war by land, that Maria Theresa should keep no army in Flanders that might give occasion to hostilities; but, on the other hand, it was difficult to provide other means for the protection of Hanover, where the king of France had it in his power to compel the English to employ a land army. The court of St. James's, therefore, adopted the plan of placing the electorate under the protection of Prussia; because Frederick was in amicable relations with France, and, in case of necessity, would be sufficiently near to the scene of action, and was possessed of a competent force: he was to be assisted, in that case, by the duke of Brunswick his brother-in-law, by the landgrave William the Eighth, who was a great statesman, and whose troops were of the best description; and by Elizabeth Petrovna, empress of Russia.

Upon this plan, France would be compelled to carry on the war by sea; on which element the power of England was superior. The court of Versailles was extremely offended with Frederick for lending himself to the plans of Britain. The court of Vienna perceived this dissatisfaction, and hoped by means of it to compel the king of Prussia to restore Silesia: for the imperial court not only had not forgotten that loss, but imagined it perceived indications that Frederick designed to obtain the Lausitz and

Saxony in order to confirm his power, and to indemnify the elector, who was also king of Poland, by the conquest of Bohemia. The wish of the court of Dresden, to confirm a royal crown on the head of its chief, was well known; and the latter appeared too feeble to oppose the earnest desire of the king of Prussia. The success of this undertaking would have deprived Austria of its seat in the electoral college, and have rendered Frederick the actual master of the empire. Under these circumstances, it seemed to be a most desirable object to bring the difference between Prussia and France to an open rupture; by which means, France would also obtain the advantage of involving England in a war by land.

A. D. 1756. Induced by these motives, 280 years after the jealousy between the Habsburgs and the Capets had commenced, France and Austria laid aside their ancient animosity, and concluded a treaty of alliance.

This unexpected occurrence affected the greater part of Europe. In the empire, the imperialists and the partizans of France were united; and the majority adverse to Frederick. The interests of the Swedish royalists, or the court party of the successors of Gustavus Adolphus, coincided with those of the Austrians; and the influence of France was so great in the imperial council, that it proclaimed war against the king of Prussia without even consulting the diet. The empress of Russia, who was to have assisted Frederick in the protection of Hanover, became, both as the ally of Austria and because he had personally offended her, his bitterest enemy. The elector of Saxony was induced, under these favorable circumstances, to declare himself also against Prussia: he had fourteen thousand excellent troops; but it was suspected that their officers had been frequently appointed less from regard to their qualifications, than through the influence of women and favorites, whose interest they had secured by presents, or commanded by means of debts incurred at play, or by other fascinations. The finances were in the most wretched condition: the king of Poland hardly knew how much they were exhausted by hunting parties, by the expenses of his table, his horses, operas, and dancers; and above all, through his

inattention to the proceedings of his ministers and favorites.

The south of Europe maintained its neutrality. During the long illness of Ferdinand king of Spain, his wife, a princess of Portugal, possessed the chief influence: and she was favorable to the English, who wished to avoid a war by land. The court of Portugal was in the same interest; and Don Carlos, king of Naples and presumptive heir to the crown of Spain, was as little inclined to commit his prospects to the uncertain fortune of war.

The king of Sardinia was under the necessity of keeping peace; for as long as his neighbors were united among themselves, and neither of them was obliged to enter into venal alliances against the rest, his power was insufficient to effect any object of importance. Almost all the other powers were united against Prussia and Great Britain.

## SECTION VIII.

### THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

The war began on the part of Frederick, (A. D. 1756,) with the victories of Lowositz and Prague; and he compensated the calamity of Kollin, at Rossbach and Lissa. The arms of the English were at first so unfortunate, that many were apprehensive for the safety of their country, (A. D. 1757); but they afterwards obtained a wonderful series of victories and conquests. Frederick was often obliged to remain for a while inactive; and even his achievements augmented only his reputation: his veteran warriors gained his victories by the sacrifice of their blood. Meanwhile the English were excited, by every consideration, to employ in the defence of their country and the pursuit of revenge, those inexhaustible resources which their national strength and talents afforded them.

Admiral Boscawen captured many French vessels, (A. D. 1756); but this served only to irritate the enemy. General Braddock, who was better acquainted with the tactics than the genius of Frederick, and who was nei-

ther sufficiently acquainted with his enemy nor with the nature of the country in which he was to carry on his operations, was defeated and killed: and the English lost the alliance of the brave Iroquois, together with Fort Oswego. In Europe, Byng lost the island of Minorca about the same time: and in the East Indies, a tyrannical prince of Hindoston insulted the nation, and inclosed some of its most distinguished citizens in the Black Hole at Calcutta.

In the following year, (A. D. 1757,) two thousand Englishmen were made prisoners in Fort William-Henry, and many of them were scalped. The unfortunate result of an attempt upon Louisburg and of another against St. Malo; and a factious spirit among the army, the parliament, the cabinet and the people, produced a state of general dejection. While the fleet was carrying on the war with ill success on the waters of the new world, the troops of France were assembled in great force on their own coasts, as if they meditated an invasion of England itself. In Germany, marshal d'Etrées defeated the duke of Cumberland, the son of the king: this prince had adopted erroneous measures, and was obliged by marshal Richelieu to submit to the convention of Closter Seven; by which his army was reduced to a state of inactivity, and Hanover was in reality abandoned to the French.

In the mean while, the Great Frederick, after having disarmed the Saxons at Pirna, defeated Browne near Lowositz and beaten an advantageously posted enemy at Prague, now saw the Austrians before him on the heights of Planian and Kollin; learned that the Russian troops were conquering Prussia, and that the army of France, now no longer engaged with the English, was approaching against him, in conjunction with the imperial forces, through Thuringia. At this conjuncture, he sacrificed the flower of his troops. Pomerania was taken by the Swedes; the whole power of Austria poured itself down upon Silesia; Berlin was laid under contribution; and the prince of Brunswick Bevern delivered up Breslau. In this extreme emergency, Frederick scarcely expected to acquire any further fame, except that of not surviving the fall of his greatness; and of meeting his death, like Mithridates, on the ruins of his for-

mer victories. In England, disgrace, terror, and confusion, produced universal despondency.

In this crisis, it was manifested that the destiny of states depends less upon the extent of their power, than upon the qualifications of a few great individuals, who possess the talent of employing and increasing their resources, and of animating the national energies. For although neither Prussia nor England gained a friend or lost an enemy; and though neither the French nor the Austrians had met with any enfeebling disaster; yet by the achievements of Frederick, of his brother prince Henry, of Ferdinand of Brunswick, of William Pitt, and general Wolfe, both the Prussian king and the English nation were, in a surprisingly short period, raised from the depths of calamity to a degree of greatness and splendor, superior to any that had been displayed by England or Prussia in any former age.

William Pitt combined all the methods of warfare: he found the German war already commenced, and therefore prosecuted it; and at the same time carried on his operations, in America, on the coasts of that continent, and in the East Indies. Calcutta was stormed and captured with equal rapidity; and Chander-nagor, defended by 180 pieces of artillery and 1200 men, held out not more than three hours. All Bengal, Bahar, and the coast of Orixa, were occupied by the English. These acquisitions were made by admiral Watson and by lord Clive, the victor of Plassey, a man of a cool, comprehensive, and daring spirit, and who triumphed over the immense resources of the enemy and the difficulties of the climate, with less difficulty than others have experienced in making a journey in that country. Cumming and Marsh, in the mean time, led their companions in arms to the conquest of the coast of Senegal; and commodore Keppel took possession of that of Goree. In America, admiral Boscawen burned the enemy's ships in the harbor of Louisburg, and compelled the town to surrender: Frontenac soon fell into the hands of Bradstreet, and fifteen of the savage tribes, through the mediation of Tidynscung, sent the belt of peace to the English, together with two hundred deputies with their women and children.

Ticonderoga, however, still held out for the French; Forbes fought unsuccessfully at Fort du Quesne, and the lamented Howe fell at Crown Point. Pitt now resolved to make an universal attack on the power of the French in America, both by land and water. Amherst took Ticonderoga: the capture of Crown Point soon opened the lake Champlain; and Saunders ascended the river St. Lawrence and appeared before Quebec. In the higher districts, where this river, already increased to a great size by the waters of lakes Michigan, Huron and Erie, precipitates itself in thunder over the rocks from an elevation of 140 feet, Sir W. Johnson captured Fort Niagara and threatened Montreal. The French, thus attacked on every side, were unable to withstand the power and enthusiasm of the enemy. Quebec witnessed the fall of James Wolfe; a young hero, whose name is worthy to be placed in the same rank with those of the Grecian annals: a man of extraordinary acuteness and energy of mind, whose soul was equally superior to pride and suspicion, and who, in his virtues, perhaps in his magnanimity, but especially in the circumstances of his death, closely resembled Epaminondas. Saunders was returning with the lifeless body, when, on approaching his native country, he received intelligence that the fleets of France and England were preparing for a decisive engagement in the bay of Quiberon. He arrived, however, only in time to witness the decisive victory obtained by Sir Edward Hawke over admiral Conflans. The conquest of Quebec, the defence of that city by Murray, the occupation of Montreal, of the islands of Guadaloupe, Tobago, Martinique, and Dominica; and the East Indian conquests of Guzurat, Arcott, Caracal, and Pondicherry, were the consequences and fruits of these great actions. Spain, as we shall afterward find, at length took up arms on the part of France; upon which Albemarle and Pocock by conquering the Havannah, and Draper by taking possession of Manilla, crowned the achievements of the war. The prize of military science, of courage, of perseverance and of eloquence, was never more gloriously contested, even amongst the Greeks and Romans; nor did

fortune ever display so many miracles as during the seven years' war.

Frederick was engaged with the armies of Austria, which were generally well commanded; with the French, who were masters in the science of war and irresistible in their attack; with the immovable perseverance of the Russians; and with the troops of the empire and of Sweden, which continually increased the numbers of his enemies, and occasionally threw him into perplexity by dividing his force: he had lost the battle of Planian, and had been deprived of Dessau, Schwerin, Winterfeld, and of the flower of the warriors who had grown up with him: equally prepared for victory or death, he hastened back from Planian to Saxony; saw and defeated Soubise and Hildburghausen at Rossbach; dispersed their armies, flew to Silesia, and in four weeks after the battle of Rossbach, obtained the far more important victory of Lissa. Seven hundred thousand men had been opposed in this campaign to 260,000, without being able to conquer them; and at its conclusion, the king was able to send troops to the assistance of the army of the allies in Westphalia.

The old landgrave, William of Hesse Cassel, had instructed some officers, worthy of himself, to take advantage of certain infringements of the treaty of Closter Seven, to which the arrogant conquerors easily gave occasion, and to declare that convention at an end. This secret commission was executed with admirable spirit by general Wutgenau. The troops of Brunswick were obliged to follow his example, and Frederick sent reinforcements, together with Ferdinand of Brunswick, the brother of the duke. The latter gained over his brother, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, whose acuteness, presence of mind and popularity, were rewarded with so much success, particularly in petty wars, that he was esteemed, even in the bloom of his youth, as one of the great commanders of Germany. Ferdinand, a general endowed with great talents, true heroism, and exalted virtues, suddenly appeared on the Lower Rhine, at the head of a new army of the allies, inspired by him with the thirst of revenge.

The Russians under Apraxis defeated general Lehwald at Grossjägerndorff, and took possession of the kingdom of Prussia. Count Bestucheff had advised the empress to undertake this war; but as that princess fell ill at the moment of the conquest of Prussia, the minister, who dreaded the dispositions of her successor, interrupted the progress of Apraxis, in order to obtain the advantage of his friendship and presence in Petersburg. This proceeding was represented in the most disadvantageous light to the empress, who displaced the minister and banished him into a desert beyond Moscow.

The kingdom of Prussia remained in the hands of the Russians, and the Austrian general Haddick had laid Berlin under contribution; but in the following year the king appeared in Moravia, and carried terror into the midst of the archduchy. In a similar manner the fortune of war had undergone such a change, that France was compelled, only a year after the period when she intended to make a descent in England, to seek the mediation of the court of Denmark.

The French took the utmost pains to introduce the tactics of the Prussians into their army: but it is impossible for a people of a totally different character, in a very short time to adopt that which requires the study of many years; to acquire dexterity without long practice, or to comprehend the secret of the simplest and most essential particulars without much reflection: the forms were imitated; but the errors of disorder, impatience, contempt of the enemy, presumption, and above all the unfortunate choice of commanders, which was chiefly determined by court intrigue, retained their destructive influence. On the other hand, the Austrian army was in an excellent condition with respect to the talents of its officers and the judicious employment of them; a point to which prince Lichtenstein had devoted himself with patriotic industry, and at the expense of considerable sacrifices. Laudon had already entered upon the glorious career in which he obtained the respect of Frederick beyond all others: he displayed the most distinguished talents in the comprehensiveness of his plans, and in the boldness with which they were executed:

he put the king in the utmost danger of being taken prisoner at Hochkirch; Fouquet fell into his hands at Landshut, and he relieved Olmutz by the capture of the enemy's convoys. In proportion to the duration of the war, Laudon acquired increasing confidence, and the king found it more and more difficult to obtain any advantage over the Austrians; who, even after the battle of Torgau, which was probably the most hardly gained of all his victories, still appeared unconquered. Pomerania, the Marks and Silesia were annually inundated by swarms of Russians: their battalions stood immovable, their march was accompanied by devastation, and preceded by the terrors of barbarity. They burned Custrin; the victory of Zorndorf, which the king owed to Seidlitz, was difficult and bloody; and he was at the lowest point of depression when, after the disaster of Kollin, he lost the great battle of Cunnersdorf against the Russians, and his residence fell into their hands. What would have been the consequence if these commanders had been as invincible by every other metal as by iron?

It was particularly fortunate for Frederick, that while he was hastening from one hostile army to oppose another, he could be secure that his brother prince Henry would omit no means to retard the progress of the former; that he never despised a conquered enemy, and that he never failed, in the day of battle, to display proofs of his heroism to those to whom he was before unknown.

The last campaigns were carried on with less spirit: both sides were exhausted by their previous efforts, and the party which was desirous of peace endeavored to avert such occurrences as might revive the hopes of the enemy.

The power of France was diminished, not so much by the effects of the war, as of the incomprehensible errors of the administration of Lewis the Fifteenth. A. D. 1761. A family compact was concluded with Spain; and it was thought proper, in order to obtain peace, that she should attack Portugal, for the purpose of effecting a diversion of the forces of England, its ally, or of compelling the latter to put an end to the war. A war with Spain was by no means disagreeable to Pitt, the English minister of

state, as the means of animating the nation, which was oppressed with the expenses of the war, by the capture of a rich booty. He was inclined to conclude a treaty with France, on condition that the court of Versailles should not interfere in the relations of London and Madrid: but as France was prevented by the family compact from consenting to this proposal, and as England was equally incapable of abandoning the king of Prussia, the work of pacification was delayed.

After the family compact was concluded, Don Joseph, king of Portugal, was summoned to make common cause with the allies for the restoration of the freedom of the seas: it was proposed that he should open his ports exclusively to those powers; in return for which piece of complaisance, they were to take him under their protection. Oeyras, marquis of Pombal, his prime minister, was aware of the evils which oppressed Portugal, and is said to have been inclined to deliver his country from the ascendancy of the English, as well as from that of the Jesuits. It is, however, doubtful whether his anxiety was chiefly directed to the advantage of himself or of his country: he persecuted the nobles who might have contended with him for the possession of the first office in the state; and though his administration lasted twenty-five years, he does not appear to have materially increased the internal power of the country. However this may be, he was under the necessity of refusing to agree to the propositions of the house of Bourbon: for it would have been madness to expose Portugal and the Brazils to the hostility of the English, who were at this period victorious in every quarter of the globe.

This refusal produced a declaration of war on the part of the Spaniards against the court of Lisbon; and it is difficult to say on which side the war was worse conducted. Since the time when every respectable citizen, provided he was a familiar of the inquisition or had obtained the degree of bachelor, was allowed to enjoy the good fortune and the honor of exemption from the service, the military profession had sunk into extreme decay: the troops were compelled to assemble by force; a period of four years

slavery in Africa was proclaimed as the punishment of those who should absent themselves; and three years of service, without pay, as the penalty of such magistrates as should encourage desertion; while exemption from the service was the reward of an information. The more unpopular these proceedings were, the more inclined were the ecclesiastics and magistrates to favor the transgression of the orders: the youth fled into the mountainous and desert parts of the country, and the people of Catalonia threatened an insurrection; though that province contributed the most numerous and effective soldiers, as soon as these odious regulations were withdrawn. The army was at length assembled with great difficulty, and marched toward the frontiers: but it was deficient in provisions, tents, and all the necessary preparations. The commanders were ignorant of the enemy's country, and attacked it on the strongest point. The army of the king of Portugal consisted of sixteen thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry: but these troops had already served fourteen months without pay; the government owed four hundred thousand crusadoes to the contractors who had supplied the bread for the service of the preceding year; the discipline was such as might be expected in an army destitute both of pay and bread; and notwithstanding all these disadvantages, it appeared less hopeless to lead this army against that of the Spaniards, which was thrice as numerous, than to subject Goa and Brazil to the danger to which they must be exposed if a rupture should take place with England.

Portugal was defended by its natural advantages, and not by its military force. The progress of the Spaniards was retarded by the miserable condition of the roads, by the ancient antipathy between the two nations, and by the neglect of all provision for their sustenance. They were besides so entirely unacquainted with the movements of the enemy, that the English general Burgoyne preserved the plains of Alentejo by a five days' march, of which they were utterly ignorant, in their position near Veleza d'Alcantara; and they were surprised in their undefended camp at Villa Velha, and entirely dispersed. The greater

part of the fortified towns nevertheless fell under the superiority of their force; and Lisbon itself was apprehensive of the results of a second campaign. The situation to which Portugal was thus reduced, furnished England with a motive for the conclusion of peace: Pitt had besides been removed from the English ministry even before the commencement of the Spanish war, since which occurrence the opposition had been extremely formidable to the court; the national debt now amounted to 129,000,000 pounds sterling; and lastly, the nation manifested great disgust at the continuance of the continental war. France and England therefore consented to a neutrality with regard to Germany; and the court of Versailles promised to restore Guelders and Prussian Westphalia to the king of Prussia.

Frederick experienced the most extraordinary reverse of fortune. Elizabeth Petrovna, empress of Russia, died; and Peter the Third, who had long admired the heroic king, and who had never forgotten that the influence of Frederick had especially contributed to the foundation of his hopes and greatness, had no sooner ascended the throne than he made peace with him, and restored all the conquests of the Russians. From that time the king was not only enabled to concentrate his whole force against the Austrians, but was supported by Peter, who concluded an alliance with him, with a corps of 20,000 Russians.

The inactive war with Sweden was at an end, as soon as this alteration allowed the republican party in that country to return to a pacific system: the interest of the king, who was the brother-in-law of Frederick, could not possibly be promoted by a diminution in the number of the northern powers.

Peter the Third, after a short reign, fell a victim to his own imprudence; and Catharine the Second, although she confirmed the peace, recalled the auxiliary Russians from the Prussian army.

Maria Theresa, who had only succeeded in preserving her states against the Prussian hero, by displaying a wonderful degree of fortitude, saw him now restored to the possession of all his own dominions; on a friendly footing

with Russia; free from all apprehensions of hostility from other quarters: indefatigable in his endeavors to excite fresh enemies against her; and capable, by one of those favorable occurrences which had often been produced by his genius, and often by his good fortune, of throwing her again into difficulties.

Frederick, however, stood also greatly in need of peace: his army required to be organized anew, and his utterly exhausted kingdom to be restored to that state of prosperity which is alone the principal support of power.

Peace, which was now the universal object of desire to all parties, was concluded at Versailles, on the 10th February, 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain; and five days later at Hubertsburg in Saxony, between Austria and Prussia. This contest, which was more destructive to many of the German states than any that had taken place since the thirty years' war; which had required such extraordinary sacrifices of population and of human happiness, and had overwhelmed many countries with debts and taxes; this war, scarcely to be paralleled in history, in which the half of Europe had been in arms against Frederick and England, was concluded almost without any alteration in the territorial arrangements of Germany; though with the acquisition, on the part of the English, of some provinces, which, however, in a short time gave occasion to events, that finally contributed to the loss of more ancient, extensive, and valuable possessions.

The king of Prussia suffered the least: the opinion of the indestructibility of his power, and the reverence with which the splendor of his fame inspired all Prussia, were the advantages which he attained: he renewed and augmented his army, and in the space of twenty years gave his people more than 40,000,000 for the encouragement of agriculture and commerce. The war had cost him seven years of his active life, and this was an essential loss.

England gained Canada, Cape Breton, the Bay of St. Lawrence, a part of Louisiana, the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent, Florida, the bay of Pensacola, the French settlements on the Senegal, and the greater part of their East Indian possessions.

By these acquisitions, the North Americans were relieved from the vicinity of a powerful neighbor, against whom they had hitherto stood in need of the protection of Great Britain; and the wealth of the East Indies endangered the national morals, which are the only secure foundation of liberty: in addition to these circumstances, the augmentation of territory gave occasion to so great an increase, both of the military and diplomatic bodies, that the court acquired the disposal of such a multitude of places, as to endanger the independence of a large and continually increasing proportion of the members of parliament. Great Britain would have done better if she had refused all territorial acquisitions out of her own islands, and had contented herself with carrying on an unsuspected commerce with all parts of the earth. If she had confined herself to the preservation of her independence, against all superiority, by means of her fleet, without pretending to "*rule* the waves," all nations would have been friendly to the Britons; and the consciousness of their justice, freedom, and power, would have raised their nation above all cause of apprehension.

## SECTION IX.

### THE COURT OF ROME, AND THE JESUITS.

In the latter years of the long pontificate of Lambertini, or Benedict the Fourteenth, the destruction of the order of jesuits, that grand pillar of the Roman catholic hierarchy, began to take place in Portugal.

Benedict the Fourteenth was one of the most universally beloved of all the popes: he had obtained the respect of the world by his extraordinary acquirements, his moderation, prudence, and mildness. During his pontificate, many abuses, such as the privileges of the asylum, were either abolished, or at least circumscribed and undermined by reasonable stipulations, or with the pope's connivance. During this period also, complaints were preferred from many places of the secret aggregation of the Tertiaries,

especially to the Romish congregation of the order of jesuits; and even at that time many scandalous principles were discovered in their confessional precepts and in many of their books of morality, by which that society had thought proper to tranquillize the terrified consciences of sinners, in the practice of vicious pleasures: the holy father either dared not or did not choose to forbid the former; and disallowed the latter with that indifference which is usual to men of the world. It was besides, a principle with Benedict the Fourteenth to avoid all contests, because he knew that the spirit of the age afforded no prospect of a successful result to the pontificate from such discussions.

Rezzonico, who became pope Clement the Thirteenth, was a pious man, devoid of fear, and equally ignorant of moderation and of the spirit of the age. Under his pontificate, the difference which already existed between Pombal, the Portuguese minister of state, and the jesuits, came to an open rupture.

The accusations brought against the order were, that it had endeavored to establish an independent empire in America, and had actually undermined the authority of the European sovereigns in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil; that no fear for consequences was capable of limiting the extent of its plan, because the society was perpetually renewed, and had never been known to abandon any design which it had once adopted; and that the general of the order had defended moral irregularities on his own responsibility. The governor of Marannon, who was a creature of Pombal, gave information to the king of such plans. From that time every thing mischievous was attributed to the jesuits. Pombal had introduced a monopoly of port wine for his own benefit, which irritated the proprietors of the vineyards of that district to such a degree, that they laid waste his own estates; and this outrage was imputed to the order. The earthquake of 1755, by which three-fourths of Lisbon was destroyed, gave occasion, as it usually happens under such circumstances, to admonitory discourses, in which the sins of mortals are represented as causes of the displeasure of the Divinity; these declamations were resented as attacks on the sacred person of the king, because Don

Joseph had exposed himself to such reproaches. The order was accused at Rome; and the pope proclaimed a visitation, during which no jesuit was permitted to preach or to exercise the office of a confessor.

This was soon followed by the conspiracy of Don Joseph Mascarenhas y Lancaster, marquis de Torresnovas y Guvea, count of Santa Cfuz, duke of Aveiro, and president of the royal tribunal. The power of this nobleman under the reign of Joseph, was inferior to what it had been in the time of his father: his family had suffered by the reduction of the crown estates; and the marriage of his only son with the wealthy heiress of Cadoval had been prevented: Pombal is said to have wished to gain the latter for the wife of one of his own sons, and he was always unfavorable to marriage connections between great families. Aveiro resided on his own estates, at a distance from the court: he maintained a friendly intercourse with the marchioness of Tavora, whose family traced their descent to the kings of Leon, and was said to have been of the true royal blood; and held possession of Tavora "by the grace of God." Her husband, descended from another branch of the same family, had been viceroy at Goa, was now a general of the cavalry, and was desirous of obtaining the ducal dignity. The marchioness, an intelligent and beautiful woman, who conducted the affairs of the family, and animated society by her talents, was said to have taken an oath, with her husband and Aveiro, and with both the sons, and Ataide d'Atunha, the son-in-law of the marchioness, to assassinate king Joseph; who, according to report, had attempted to disgrace her family by a licentious intrigue.

In the night of the 3d of September, (A. D. 1759,) as the king was returning from a love adventure, two shots were fired into his carriage. This occurrence was succeeded by the most profound silence, and the king became inaccessible; when the duke of Aveiro, the whole family of Tavora, and eight jesuists were suddenly arrested: sometimes they were accused of a design to kill only the king; sometimes to extirpate the whole of the reigning family. They were condemned by an extraordinary com-

mission, which was not bound to observe the ordinary forms of justice, or to give publicity to their proceedings: the duke was degraded; his arms and legs were crushed, and his body burned upon the wheel; his estates confiscated, his palaces destroyed, and his arms cancelled: the marchioness was beheaded, and the name of Tavora suppressed; her sons, her son-in-law, and three confidential servants, were strangled; and Ferreria, who was convicted of having fired the shots, was burned with the scaffold. This horrid tragedy is still enveloped in mystery: the sentence is full of gratuitous suppositions; of heavy accusations destitute of proof; and of insignificant reproaches which weaken the probability of the more important accusations. Some imagine that the judges were obliged to express themselves ambiguously in order to avoid exposing the king's amour with the daughter of the marchioness; while others believe the whole affair to be a mere fiction, invented for the purpose of humiliating the upper ranks of the nobility, who were obnoxious to Pombal. Besides this effect, it served him as a pretext against the jesuits, who were accused of participating in the conspiracy; and kept the weak king, during eighteen succeeding years, in a state of servitude to his minister, by the operation of his fears, which were artfully and continually renewed.

Among the jesuits lived, at this time, the pious enthusiast Malagrida, who had a short time before prophesied that the king would soon meet with a disaster if he did not reform his manners: others were friends of Tavora and Aveiro; and these circumstances afforded sufficient grounds for requesting Clement Rezzonico to abolish the order. But as the pope did not instantly comply with this demand, the court of Portugal banished the jesuits, sent the papal nuncio back to Rome, and transported eight hundred jesuits to Italy, with circumstances of extreme ill usage.

It happened soon after this occurrence, that a commercial house in Paris, which managed the American funds of the order, refused to honor the bills drawn by their procurator-general, father de la Valette, because the specie

and goods for the value of which they were negociated, were partly lost by shipwreck and partly captured by the English. The court, however, declared that commercial pursuits were inconsistent with the intention of the order, but that their houses must notwithstanding answer for each other. The duc de Choiseul, now minister of state, was inimical to the jesuits: he knew that they disliked his administration; he was in all respects favorable to the enemies of their principles; and was the first who patronized that school of philosophy which undermined the foundations of the Catholic system, and afterwards those of all arbitrary authority. This minister caused the constitution of the order to be scrutinized according to the laws, as they were termed, and to the liberties of the Gallican church; and it was not difficult to prove, by these tests, that it was worthy of reprobation: the jesuits were therefore forbidden to admit scholars or novices, and were required to furnish a catalogue of their persons and effects. The prelates, who had been appointed to investigate their cause, were divided in their judgments; but the minister gave authority to that of the severer party, (A. D. 1762): the habit of the order was forbidden to be worn, all their colleges dispersed, and not more than five of their number allowed to reside together; their connection with the general of the order was dissolved, their property confiscated, the members provided with scanty pensions; and finally, the order totally and permanently abolished in France. A. D. 1767.

The fiscal of Castile, Don Ruy de Campomanes appeared against the jesuits in Spain, as Don Seabra da Sylva had done in Portugal, and Montclar and Chalotais in France. Even their apparent humility, their applications on behalf of sick persons and prisoners and their charitable gifts, were decried as the arts of factious demagogues. They were especially accused of having excited the insurrection against the marquis of Squillace, who was disliked on account of some of his regulations which were contrary to Spanish customs. Campomanes affirmed, that Don Bernardo Ibannez, during his last illness, had communicated to him some most important disclosures relating to

the institutions and designs of the jesuits in Paraguay. The remembrance of John Palafox was revived; a bishop who had been persecuted by them in the preceding century, and whom it was now proposed to place among the saints, by the intercession of the Catholic courts. King Charles the Third was informed that they had intended to represent him as an illegitimate son of Cardinal Alberoni, to deprive his family of the throne under that pretext, and to elevate Don Lewis his brother, in his stead. All the jesuits of Spain were now also transported into the territories of the church: the decision of the council of Castile was concealed from them for two months; and in the night of the 6th of March, (A. D. 1767,) their colleges were surrounded with troops, every cell guarded by a sentinel, their papers and other articles taken from them, and they were all conveyed toward the ports where they were to embark at break of day. The dominion which they were supposed to have founded in Paraguay was overturned with equal facility: this was properly an institution for education, and a system of legislation the authority of which depended entirely on the will and opinion of the public.

Pope Rezzonico had in vain confirmed the order, and endeavored to influence the different courts in their favor: the people obeyed their rulers; and a system had already come into operation in most of the courts, the consequences of which extended far beyond the calculations of the most sagacious statesmen. Two thousand three hundred Spanish jesuits were landed at once at Civita Vecchia; upon which occasion, the court of Rome pointed out how unreasonable it was to require that such a sovereign as the pope should be called upon, at the caprice of the royal courts, to maintain in his own dominions the members of those religious orders, which had in all ages been cherished by the Catholic world. Another body of one thousand five hundred came to him from Naples, and a great multitude out of Sicily: many of them were old and infirm; and the greater part had been accustomed to a sedentary life, and were incapable of severe labor.

A. D. 1768. During the pontificate of Rezzonico, several regulations were also established by Ferdinand of Bourbon, duke of Parma, against the acquisitions of the clergy; their property was subjected to the ordinary taxes, all appeals to the pope were forbidden, and the exequatur declared necessary to the validity of his commands. The pope, in the utmost indignation at seeing that so insignificant a prince, the sovereign of a state which was originally a fief of the church, dared to proceed in this manner; and forgetting that Ferdinand was a Bourbon, and that all the temporal powers of Europe considered his cause as their own; published the interdict against him, "that his holiness might not be liable to the reproach of having neglected to protect the cause of God himself, in an affair relating to the liberties of the church." The jesuits were upon this expelled also from the territory of Parma; and the subjects of the duke were commanded not to regard the letter dated from Rome, as a production of the pope. France, Spain, and the princes of Italy, endeavored to arrange the affair of the duke by mediation; but Clement replied, "I have done my duty: I know how small my power is; but if I were more powerful, I would still not seek assistance in troops; but on the contrary, would much rather end my life in misery, in imitation of the first successor of St. Peter, than dishonor my grey hairs, on the brink of the grave, by betraying my duty."

The court of Naples at this juncture renewed the claims of the family of Farnese on Castro and Ronciglione; and those of the duke of Modena to the territory of Ferrara. At Naples, the pope was openly treated as merely the first Christian bishop, and the authority of the councils preferred to his. The duke of Modena laid taxes on the property of the church; even the grand master of Malta expelled the jesuits; and Venice, the native country of pope Rezzonico, investigated the amount of the ecclesiastical revenues. This state, the population of which amounted to only 2,600,000, contained 47,000 ecclesiastics; and the capital from which their income was derived, amounted to 129,000,000. The subjects of the king of Naples and Sicily amounted to 4,117,000: while the

number of the clergy within his dominions was 107,000, and two-thirds of the produce of the land were in their possession. It was calculated that the thirty-fifth part of the population of the Catholic world consisted of ecclesiastics. The jesuits of Corsica arrived in Italy in the most wretched condition.

Clement now wrote to Maria Theresa to obtain her mediation on his behalf; "prayers and tears are my weapons," said he; "I honor the potentates whom God is pleased to employ for the castigation of his church." But the dispositions of the Catholic world had undergone such an alteration, that the bull *In Cœna Domini* was rejected even at Vienna. This bull contains a kind of epitome of the privileges usurped by the papal chair: pope Pius the Fifth had reduced it to its most modern form, and Urban the Eighth had enlarged it by a few additions; but a great part of its two-and-seventy curses is older than the thirteenth century. This instrument used to be pronounced on Holy Thursday before the college of cardinals and the whole people; but of later time it has been recited in a lower tone, and even entirely omitted.

There was an extraordinary degree of commotion, as though some new danger threatened the power of princes from ecclesiastical pretensions: the temporal power every where investigated the occasions on which the convents were founded; and the bonds of obedience to generals of orders and to the pope, were dissolved. Every proof of a dislike to the interference of temporal power; of extravagance, of burdensome poverty and avarice, of despotism and cruelty, was publickly displayed and more or less magnified. Among all the proposals for reformation, none was so acceptable to the courts as the confiscation of the ecclesiastical estates: but when it was perceived that the barracks increased in proportion as the convents diminished, the friends of liberty and peace contemplated with dissatisfaction the unhappy direction given to reform. The power of the bishops, who with ill-calculated ambition endeavored in many countries to raise themselves upon the ruins of the papal authority, menaced the inferior ranks of the

clergy with the inconveniences of a nearer and therefore still more rigid despotism.

A. D. 1769. The death of Rezzonico, or Pope Clement the Thirteenth, happened amidst these commotions. When the great bell of the capitol announced the death of this unfortunate prince, every individual in Rome manifested sorrow: he had acquired their esteem by his perseverance and the exemplary firmness with which he adhered to the supposed maxims of duty.

The college of cardinals were at first disposed to favor the party in the interests of the jesuits; until the court of France, in which Choiseul was still the prime agent, gave them to understand that an election which should be displeasing to the temporal powers, would probably render the pope a simple bishop of Rome. The Spanish faction elected cardinal Ganganelli; a man of low origin, but of extraordinary learning, great simplicity of manners, and the purest intentions.

Clement the Fourteenth endeavored to save the jesuits: he alleged that the council of Trent had confirmed their institution; and that the authority of the councils was superior to that of the pope. He represented the reigning pontiff as merely the administrator of the ecclesiastical dominions; and that (in allusion to Avignon and Benevento, which had been taken from his predecessor,) he had not the right to alienate any of the possessions of the holy see.

While he was calmly awaiting the result of these representations, he pursued his duties as a sovereign with the most scrupulous attention. The debt of the state had arisen to the sum of 74,000,000 scudi: he introduced a system of rigid economy; and endeavored to reanimate the neglected arts of agriculture and commerce.

At length Maria Theresa also desired the suppression of the jesuits: and Clement, having maturely considered the signs of the times, perceived that the period fixed by destiny to the hitherto existing order of things, had now arrived; and without even consulting the cardinals, issued the bull for the dissolution of the order. A. D. 1773, Benevento and Avignon were restored, and the pope's enlightened understanding was the subject of great praise:

but he had in reality only yielded to the power of irresistible circumstances: for on no other ground is it easy to believe that he would have sacrificed the tried and principal support of his dominion.

From this time forth, the power of the princes over the clergy was greatly increased: but as the advantage to the people appeared not to be so great as it might have been, the number of the discontented was exceedingly augmented by the accession of the clergy to their party; and it soon became evident to intelligent men, that one common bulwark of all constituted authorities had fallen.

## SECTION X.

### CATHARINE THE SECOND.

A. D. 1762. After the death of Elizabeth Petrovna, empress of Russia, Peter the Third recalled general Münnich, L'Estocq, Bestucheff and Ernest von Biren, who had been the favorites and victims of the preceding administrations. Münnich, during the twenty years of his exile, had instructed young men in geometry and engineering, and had projected a number of plans for the service of the empire. This hero, now eighty years of age, was received as in triumph by the officers whom thirty years before he had led to conquest. He addressed the emperor on the qualities of the Russian army in these words: "Where is the people to be found who, like the Russians, are able to penetrate through all Europe with no other provision than the flesh of horses, and no better drink than their blood, or the milk of mares? who can pass the widest rivers without the help of bridges; as compact as our battalions, as light as our Cossacks?" He was reinstated in all his dignities.

It was the favorite design of Peter the Third to destroy the power of Denmark; and thus, to revenge the family of Holstein from which he was descended. He offended the nobles of Russia, whose power he seemed desirous of circumscribing; the clergy, by his regulations against images and their long beards; and the native guards by

the preference which he gave to those of Holstein. Having thus created a host of malcontents, and neglected to deprive them of the means of injuring him, he furnished a leader to his enemies in the person of his consort. He possibly had reason for displeasure against Catharine, as he certainly intended to divorce her; and it was uncertain whether he would declare her son, Paul Petrovitsch, as his successor. Hence, individuals of totally dissimilar characters, as count Panin, Rasumofsky ataman of the cossacks, the procurator-general Gleboff, the brothers Orloff, prince Barjatinsky and others, united in a conspiracy against him.

They gained over the senate and the synod; and towards the end of June, Peter the Third was deposed: Catharine harangued the guards; she was proclaimed sole empress of all the Russias, and received the homage of the clergy and nobility. Peter was informed of these proceedings in the villa of Oranienbaum: general Münnich advised that he should put himself at the head of the guards who had remained faithful; and declared that he would march with him to the capital. The emperor, who was incapable of a vigorous resolution, took flight; returned of his own accord, subscribed the declaration of his own incapacity, resigned his sword, and in a few days perished in the manner universally known.

Catharine now confirmed the clergy in the enjoyment of their images, beards, and revenues; and discharged the German guard. A manifesto was published, in which the empress proclaimed the dangers to which the holy traditions of the church had been exposed; that the honor of the Russian arms had been compromised by a hasty peace with Prussia; that Peter the Third had been so ungrateful as not to weep for the death of his very dear aunt, the empress Elizabeth, so ungodly as to neglect to attend sermons, and so absurd as to clothe the troops in different uniforms, as though they had more than one master; lastly, this document made mention of the fate which Catharine herself had narrowly escaped, when it "pleased Providence to take away the emperor Peter by an hemorrhoidal colic."

The innocent Ivan, who had been entitled emperor of Russia while yet in his cradle, was now in his twenty-fourth year, and had been kept a captive in the prison of Schlüsselburg. A. D. 1764. The holy synod thought proper to recommend this unfortunate youth to the empress as a husband; a proposal which warned her that Ivan's rights might yet possibly be remembered. Some person, whether with a good or a bad intention, at this period incited the cossack Mirovitsch to attempt the liberation of this unfortunate youth. The empress was absent from the residence when Mirovitsch gained over some soldiers to his views, and broke into the prison by night. Ivan was asleep; and when the two officers who were guarding him perceived the object of the attack, they remembered the orders which they had received to put him to death in the event of any such attempt: he sprung up and endeavored to defend himself; but was dispatched by four wounds. When Mirovitsch saw his blood, he wept aloud, and immediately surrendered himself: public opinion ascribed the arrangement of this affair to the empress, who rewarded the murderers, but could not prevent their becoming the objects of abhorrence. The good Mirovitsch was executed.

In order to obliterate the impressions which these transactions might have left on the minds of her subjects, Catharine now undertook, with great attention, to prosecute the works commenced by Peter the Great; and in these affairs employed general Münnich, who had formerly been engaged in the same objects under that emperor. Münnich, the only public officer now alive who had served under Peter, attained the age of eighty-four years: one of his former adjutants said of him, "he was a severe master; but I felt myself greater as his adjutant, than in my present independent command."

## SECTION XI.

### THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND.

The death of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, who was of the family of Saxony, occurred a short time after the accession of Catharine the Second. A. D. 1764. At this period the empress had entered into a treaty of alliance for eight years with the king of Prussia, obliging each party to assist the other, in any war in which either might be engaged, with at least ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; and not to make peace except by mutual concurrence. On this account Austria could not but wish to see a Saxon prince on the throne of Poland, who might not be entirely dependent on Russia and Prussia. Saxony had a party in that country; but that of Russia, which was much more powerful, and especially the family of Czartorisky, favored the pretensions of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who had acquired the confidence of the empress. His understanding and character were generally viewed in so favorable a light, that even his adversaries still wished that he might at least remain the second man in the state. A third party was formed, perhaps under the secret guidance of Frederick, by Zamoisky, vayvode of Inoffraclaff, which appeared to desire, from regard to the interests of the country, to avoid all foreign influence. The diet was tumultuous, which gave the empress Catharine a pretext, as a *neighbor* and *friend* of Poland, to send some troops to Warsaw. The party of the Czartorisky had the best concerted system: whatever they wished was proposed by others; they guided all the decisions, while they seemed only to accommodate themselves to the universal will; and their language was so moderate and obliging, that opposition to it had the appearance of violence and rudeness. The king of Prussia left these affairs to the empress of Russia.

On the day of the election, general Mocronofsky interposed his veto against any transaction which should take place under such circumstances; but was compelled by ill

usage to withdraw his opposition. Prince Adam Czartorisky, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, became marshal of the diet; upon which the two generalissimos of the crown, two Potockys, prince Radzivyl, Poninsky, and four thousand of their adherents, quitted Warsaw; and were followed by the grand treasurer with the vayvode of Volhynia. But Branicky, who was regarded as the head of this party, was deprived of his dignity, as a man who had withdrawn himself from the service of his country and the duties of his office, at so critical a moment. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, with thirty senators, and sixty deputies, gave their free votes: and some regiments refused to obey any new generalissimo: but Branicky, who was an old man, surrounded by hordes, who were neither unanimous nor could be kept in order, was unable to maintain his cause; and Prince Radzivyl, Potocky of Kyow, and others, dispersed to their several fortresses. The diet now determined that a king must be a Piast, a native of the country, possessed of estates in Poland, young, strong, handsome, and friendly to the customs of his country. Stanislaus was elected.

A. D. 1766. In the second year of his reign, the friendship subsisting between the king and the Czartorisky, began already to cool: the latter seemed to wish to exercise the sovereignty under his name; and complained that he abandoned himself to favorites. The French politeness of his manners, formed a striking contrast with the rough simplicity of the prevailing habits. The tolerant principles of the king were condemned in the sermons and pastoral letters of the clergy, because he had assented to the demands of Russia and Prussia, which, supported by Great Britain and Denmark, required that the dissidents, consisting of Christians of the Protestant and Greek churches, should be re-established in their ancient and natural equality of rights. These powers also demanded that the boundary between Russia and Poland should be more accurately determined, and that Poland should form an alliance with Prussia. Under pretence of imparting a greater degree of order and consistency to the constitution, they proposed that only a majority of votes, instead of una-

nimity, should be requisite at the elections; that the revenues should be augmented by bestowing on the king some new duties, and a fourth part of the income of the Starosties; and that these regulations, with respect to which the king was obliged to coincide with both the powers, should be executed by forty deputies, elected by a majority of votes.

All the great prelates, with the exception of the primate and two bishops, thirty senators, and one hundred and eight country deputies, protested against these arrangements: and the king at length renounced the new duties, and contented himself with an indemnification of two hundred thousand florins, which he also promised to expend exclusively among the nobles, in the establishment of a guard of honor. This idea, by means of which it was proposed to attach the nobles to his interest, was decried as tyrannical and of dangerous consequence. As the ferment continued to increase, two thousand eight hundred Russians were quartered in the estates of the bishop of Cracow, and one thousand five hundred in those of the bishop of Wilna; while four thousand were encamped around Warsaw. Many of the senators however were not yet discouraged, and resolved, as they said, rather to die than to sacrifice the republic to him who had been elected for the purpose of maintaining it. "Speak then," said the bishop of Masovia to the archbishop primate, "speak, wretch, for the religion by which thou art fattened, or retire into thy primitive nothingness:" the same prelate also said to bishop Piaskofsky, "Thy heart is capable of all manner of corruption; sell thyself therefore to the highest bidder!" The popular indignation compelled the king to abandon all thoughts of introducing the proposed regulations. The dissidents were indeed allowed to exercise their religion in places where they already possessed churches; but only on condition that those buildings should not be enlarged; and the priests of the Greek faith were permitted the liberty of performing baptisms, marriages, and burials, on condition that the customary dues should be previously paid to their catholic brethren.

From this period the parties entered into confederations: in the first place at Sluck, in the vayvodeship of Novogorodek, situated in Black Russia, under major-general Glebofsky; and afterwards at Thorn, under lieutenant-general Goltz. Four-and-twenty confederations were formed in Lithuania, the professed object of which was resistance to the influence of foreign states; but they were perhaps equally directed against the native dissidents: prince Radzivyl, who was at the head of these Lithuanian confederations, procured the assembling of an extraordinary diet at Cracow. A. D. 1767.

The first sittings of this assembly were so tumultuous, that it was impossible to collect the votes: upon which the Russians entered the town, seized Soltyk, the zealous bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kyow, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rzevusky, and several of the senators, and sent them as prisoners into Russia. The terror which this measure inspired served only to increase the tumult; and the diet separated, after having chosen sixty deputies, who were commissioned to treat with the Russian ambassador on the present state of affairs.

It was now agreed to grant the king one million five hundred thousand florins, and prince Radzivyl, (to whom the republic owed three millions,) six hundred thousand, as a first payment; to entrust all the business which had hitherto been conducted by the nuncio of the pope, to a synod, to whom his holiness should be pleased to give the permanent authority of a *legatus à latere;* and faithfully to observe the alliance with Russia, according to the treaty concluded in the year 1686 and deposited in the archives of that country.

The partisans of this compromise were threatened by the nuncio with the great bann; and the pope himself wrote to the king, that he should rather abandon his crown than countenance such scandalous proceedings. Notwithstanding this opposition, the compact was confirmed by the diet, the public taxes were fixed at twenty-three millions, and a treaty of guarantee was renewed with Russia.

The dissidents were detested, as the party which had

given occasion to the injuries inflicted on the independence of the country, and were subjected to all possible oppressions. A confederation was formed against them at Bar, under Marshal Krasinsky; one at Halicz under Potocky; and another at Lublin; which latter place was, on that account, set on fire by the Russian artillery. Civil war now arose in all its horrors: the Russians increased their force to a degree which could not be a matter of indifference to the Turks; and conquered Bar, with all the wealth of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine: Krasinsky and Potocky threw themselves into the Turkish fortress of Chotin. The terrors of this war of religion were augmented by the incessant incursions of the Haidamaks, who entered the country from the Russian viceroyalty of Elizabethgorod: on one occasion they burnt ten towns and one hundred and thirty villages; and on another, three of the former and fifty of the latter: the Jews were every where burned; and the roads were covered with dead bodies, until at length neither man nor beast was to be found alive within sixty miles of the borders. The Russians in the mean time were besieging Cracow, where the confederates for a long time held out against famine and pestilence. Martin Ludomitsky, in the utmost extremity, made a sally, in which he lost the half of his followers; but made good his retreat with the rest through the midst of the enemy. The Russians extended themselves over all the vayvodeships, in order that the confederates might be prevented from forming an union in any part: that party, however, brought reinforcements out of Turkey, and the detestation inspired by their wanton cruelties exceeded the terror of their first revenge. A. D. 1769. The king proclaimed them rebels, and they declared his authority illegitimate; thirteen contests took place in the course of one month; and the progress of the war was only arrested by the devastations of pestilence: two hundred and fifty thousand men died within the space of a few weeks in Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia; Kaminiek was abandoned by its garrison and all its inhabitants, and the whole force of the confederates crowded toward Great Poland.

While the Russians favored the dissidents, the court of Vienna appeared to incline to the cause of the confederates: it refused, however, to take part in these disturbances; and even in the beginning of the Turkish war occasioned by them, declared that it would adhere to its neutrality, and only placed troops in a few districts immediately bordering on Hungary. But when the confederation of Bar earnestly entreated the empress Maria Theresa not to take any advantage of the disasters of a people who had taken arms for the liberty of their country, and for the religious rights of their fathers, she declared publicly that she was willing to protect those communities only which were not foreign to her as queen of Hungary, from the evils of this dreadful period; and gave verbal assurances that she was affected with the misfortunes of the confederates, and that although the situation of political affairs did not allow her to assist them with an armed force, they might nevertheless depend on her for all the favor it was in her power to show them. This declaration was almost immediately succeeded by a movement of the Austrian army, which inspired the confederates with the most flattering hopes; but on the other side a body of Prussian troops approached the frontiers, as if to form a cordon against the pestilence which was now exercising its ravages in Poland. Frederick collected a tribute from the vayvodeship of Great Poland, under pretence of obtaining compensation for the expense which he had been obliged to incur by the defective condition of their police: but the compassion of mankind was excited when he afterwards tore twelve thousand families from their native country, in order to transplant them into his colonies in the Mark and in Pomerania. He proceeded to strike coins of silver and gold, under the title of the king and republic of Poland, of far less than their nominal value; and compelled all those from whom his subjects made purchases to take them in payment, while he refused to receive any other than the good old coin of the country for the stores which he accumulated: he oppressed commerce by the imposition of new duties; and gave occasion to the plundering or shutting up of the granaries of Poland, during a

period of almost universal famine in Europe. The oppression and distress of Great Poland rose to such a height, that the people, with their wives and children, and accompanied even by capitulars from Gnesna, fled in troops toward the forests of Lithuania and the frontiers of Austria: many perished in the journey by the hands of robbers or of the enemy, or fell exhausted by their sufferings. The aged parents of the fugitives were fettered and ill treated in their native country, because they could not prevent the emigration of their children; and those who had daughters were obliged to deliver up a certain number, provided with portions, for the Prussian colonies.

These proceedings at length opened the eyes of the confederates; and marshal Zaremba first offered his services to king Stanislaus, in order to effect an union between the conflicting parties for the preservation of their common country: but the king probably considered this proposal to be already too late. The party of the emperor Joseph in the court of Vienna was about this period engaged in combating the religious adherence of Maria Theresa to her promises, and the rights of others: she in vain represented the consequences of infringing the principles of public morality; and the salt works of Vielitschka, which yielded an annual produce of 600,000 cwt., were now taken possession of by the Austrians.

At length, on the 26th of September, 1772, and in the 1296th year since a system of co-existent states began, after the destruction of the western empire, to be formed in Europe, the first important blow was given to the maxims and compacts on which their existence and the balance of their power had been gradually established. The ambassadors of Maria Theresa, of the empress and autocrat Catharine the Second, and of the king of Prussia, in the name of their respective courts, informed the king and the republic of Poland, that the three powers, in order to prevent farther bloodshed, and to restore peace to Poland, had agreed among themselves to insist upon their indisputable claims to some of the provinces of that country: and therefore demanded that a diet should be held for the purpose of settling the new boundaries, in concert with them.

Gallicia and Lodomeria had been, from an early period, independent sovereignties, the possessors of which had long defended themselves against the Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Petchenegers, and Bulgarians, until they were conquered, after the death of king Vladimerko, by Bela the Third, king of Hungary. This territory was afterwards transferred to Casimir king of Poland, the last of the Piasts, on condition that the succession to his throne should be secured to Lewis of Anjou, king of Hungary: it was however not restored after the death of Lewis, because Vladislaf Jagellon, partly as a relative of the former princes, and partly by means of his own ascendancy, was able to maintain possession; and a compromise was afterwards effected, in pursuance of which a friendly agreement was to be concluded within five years after his death, or after that of Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary. Both these kings died about the same time; and the son of Jagellon, during the minority of the grandson of Sigismund, united the crowns of Poland and Hungary; and promised to take care that the provinces which had been separated from Hungary should be reunited to that country. This document fell into the hands of Sigismund's daughter, was transmitted from her to the emperor Frederick of Austria, and had now lain upwards of three hundred and thirty years in the Austrian archives, during all which period its existence was never mentioned. The Austrian princes, who had enjoyed the sovereignty of Hungary, had the singular moderation to refrain from insisting on these clear and undoubted rights: when the race of Jagellon became extinct, the emperor Maximilian the Second was engaged in other affairs relating to the empire; and when Bathori, prince of Transylvania, became king of Poland, the emperor perhaps thought it a matter of indifference whether Gallicia and Lodomeria were governed by his vassal or by himself. The archduke Maximilian afterwards sought the crown of Poland; but took no notice of these ancient claims, because he was so excellent a ruler, that no secondary considerations appeared necessary to decide the Poles in his favor. His evil destiny, however, consigned him as a prisoner to his victorious rival Sigismund Vasa; after

which the family of the archdukes entered into obligations, at the peace of Pitschen, (A. D. 1589,) never, under any pretence whatever, to lay claim, direct or indirect, to Poland, Lithuania, Red Russia, or any of the territories attached to the crown of Poland. But this treaty, it was said, did not invalidate the claim of that family to Gallicia and Lodomeria, but was only intended to prevent the archdukes from attempting to obtain the sovereignty of those districts, in the character of kings of Poland; especially as the more ancient alliances (among which the compact of the family of Jagellon themselves must be reckoned) were shortly afterwards renewed. It was also asserted, that it would not have been practicable to renounce these claims, since the emperor had bound himself by an oath, as king of Hungary, never to alienate any of the territories of that kingdom; and the canon law, which was binding on all the professors of the catholic christian faith, had declared that all alienations, effected by high personages, were equally invalid as though they had been made by minors. "The title to Gallicia and Lodomeria has therefore always been retained; and it is matter of gratitude to God that he has presented so favorable an opportunity of realizing such clear and important rights."

Austria had, however, other reasons to allege: it was now upwards of 590 years since Casimir the Second, king of Poland, transferred the two royal Polish fiefs of Zator and Auschwitz to his cousin Mscislaf, duke of Teschen, in Upper Silesia; but as the diets of Poland became afterward so tumultuous that the princes of Silesia could not attend them consistently with their own dignity, Casimir of Teschen transferred his feudal duties to Venceslaf, king of Bohemia, (A. D. 1289); and Poland finally consented to the transaction. "It is true that Casimir the Fourth, by the fortune of arms, had 320 years ago reconquered, on behalf of Poland, these territories which his ancestors had formerly forfeited to the military superiority of Bohemia. A. D. 1462. But Zator and Auschwitz were conferred on him only for his life: it must be confessed that these territories have always remained in the hands of his suc-

cessors, and there is no record that they have ever been required to give them up: *but this must be ascribed to the peculiar and well-known magnanimity and moderation and goodness of the illustrious archducal family.* It is to be lamented, that under the present constitution of Poland, there is small ground to hope that the republic will manifest such a sense of justice as spontaneously to restore Gallicia, Lodomeria, Zator, and Auschwitz: the empress queen, however, will employ the power conferred upon her by God with the mildness which is hereditary in her family; and instead of rigorously demanding the whole of her rights, will content herself with a very moderate equivalent: consisting of two-thirds of Upper Poland, Pokulia, and some districts of Podolia and Volhynia; which contain in the whole about 250 cities and large towns, 50 smaller places, 6300 villages, and 2,580,000 inhabitants."

The principles and sentiments displayed by Frederick, the philosopher of Sans Souci, and the author of Anti-Macchiavel, were not less remarkable. "It is known to all the world to be indubitably true, that Mistevoj and Borislaf were co-princes of Pomerellia; and that the two sons of Swantibor the First became the founders of two families which afterward ruled at Dantzic and Stettin. A. D. 1107. When the former became extinct, the latter ought in justice to have succeeded to its dominions: but Przemysl, king of Poland, took possession of the country, (A. D. 1295,) under pretence that he was the nearest heir in right of his wife; and had been acknowledged in that character by Mistewyn, the last duke. This country, however, was an under-tenure of the margraves of Brandenburg, in right of which they made war on the Poles, and expelled them by force of arms. A. D. 1306. These princes were unfortunately under the necessity of selling their title to this district for ten thousand marks, to the Teutonic order which reigned in Prussia; and it was afterwards conquered from the latter by Casimir the Fourth, king of Poland. A. D. 1311. The house of Brandenburg has nevertheless a right to take possession of it again, because that family sold only the possession and not the

right to the country: the margraves of Brandenburg have sold that which they may now justly reclaim as dukes of Pomerania. Besides all which, it is clear that they alienated the territory only in so far as they held it 'de jure belli,' which does not at all infringe their claim of primitive right.

"It is farther known that there exist ancient records of the bishops of Posen, and even of the emperor Charles the Fourth, from which it appears that the districts between the Netze, Kuddow, and Drave, formerly belonged to the marks of Brandenburg: it cannot be denied that these were also sold to the Teutonic order, and transferred by the latter to Poland, (A. D. 1466); but a year before this transaction, the Teutonic order had sold the new mark to the elector of Brandenburg, in the state in which it was and ought to have been at that period; and the latter was only prevented by the superiority of the arms of Poland, from extending its boundary to the proper distance: and nothing more is now sought than the restoration of those rights which ought always to have been respected.

"Finally, it is also certain that the ancient dukes of Glogau, in the year 1312, were possessed of Posen and Kalisch: king Frederick has been duke of Glogau ever since the year 1741; and those places are consequently justly his property.

"Besides, in the treaty of Bidgosc, concluded in 1657, the Poles assigned the sum of 400,000 dollars, on the security of the city of Elbing, to the elector of Brandenburg, who was to deliver them from the Swedish arms: but the promise then made has never been fulfilled.

"But Frederick, with his well-known goodness and moderation, only desires, in satisfaction of all these claims, to be put in possession of Pomerellia, the districts on the Netze, the vayvodeship of Marienburg, the bishopric of Ermeland, the district of Michelau, and the bishopric and vayvodeship of Culm: as he leaves Poland in possession of Dantzic and Thorn, he hopes that the republic will grant him as a friend and good neighbor (which it is consonant with his system always to remain) a suitable compensation for the sacrifices which he thus offers to make. He has

only one thing more to add; which is, that while the king abandons his claim to Dantzic as a property, his majesty does not mean to renounce the harbor of that city, nor the customs collected in it: for Dantzic had only enjoyed, by sufferance, the use of that harbor, which was a monastic estate belonging to the abbey of Oliva, and had been made by permission of that establishment, in the year 1647, because the Neufahrwasser was no longer capable of admitting ships. Dantzic had promised to pay the abbot an annual rent of one hundred dollars during ninety-three years; a period which had long since elapsed. Besides, neither the city nor the abbot possesses any territorial sovereignty: the whole country belongs to the lord of Pomerellia; and the king is the successor of Mistewyn, duke of Pommern-Dantzic. The king of Poland, indeed, who was at that time sovereign of the country, approved the contract: but that circumstance cannot be binding on a king of Prussia; and the abbot, as an ecclesiastic, was forbidden by the canon law to grant any lease for a longer period than ten years. Dantzic, it is true, has created the harbor at an immense expense; but that process was, after all, only an inundation of a portion of land; and could not possibly prejudice the territorial rights of the sovereign: besides which, according to the Roman law, the harbor could not belong to Dantzic, because the coast on which it is situated is the property of another power. The king, consistently with the moderation which characterizes all actions of the monarch of Prussia, will not forbid the city to make use of the harbor; but to expect him to forego the profit arising from its use would be a most impudent demand. Culm and Wermeland can only be considered as a very small indemnification for his magnanimous renunciation of his claims to Dantzic itself, to Thorn, and to a compensation for several centuries of unjust dispossession."

The whole of Polish Prussia, together with the district of the Netz, was therefore occupied; by which transaction the state of Prussia became a continuous territory from Glatz to Memel, and acquired the fertile districts of Culm, Elbing, and Marienburg; the king became master of the

cathedral of Wermeland, which possessed an annual income of 300,000 dollars, and of the only mouths of the Vistula which yet remained navigable. All the inhabitants of these districts were obliged to take the oath of allegiance within fourteen days.

The empress of Russia took possession of an important part of the grand principality of Lithuania, and of the vayvodeships of Minsk, Vitepsk, and Mcislaf, with so little embarrassment, that it did not even appear necessary to her to publish the grounds of that proceeding. She allowed the inhabitants three months to remove themselves.

The king and senate of Poland lamented this misfortune, attributed the origin of the party dissensions to the influence of foreigners, displayed the evidences of their rights, alleged the compacts and referred to the guarantee under which they had been concluded, appealed from the violence of the superior power and unjust arms of their enemies, and protested before the Almighty Governor of the Universe against this crying oppression.

The king of Prussia continued to raise the tolls collected in the harbor of Dantzic to an intolerable height, and the city was urged by all possible means to surrender itself voluntarily to his sway. He summoned a diet at Lissa to counteract that of Warsaw, and confiscated the estates of all such nobles as refused to acknowledge their allegiance. Catharine also took possession of the wealth of prince Charles Radzivyl, and of Constantine and Adam Czartorisky. When an offer of restoration was made to Radzivyl, he replied, "I am a free-born man; my ancestors were free; and, though in adversity, I will also die free." The countess Vielopolska died by her own hands; and all those who were worthy of their ancestors quitted their country, now subjected to a foreign yoke: but the complaints of the oppressed were not necessary to the judgment passed by all Europe on this transaction; which is assuredly such as will be confirmed by posterity.

The subjects of the republic were reduced from seven or eight to four millions; and its revenues were proportionably diminished. Instead of one hundred senators, only thirty-eight were assembled at the diet: the arch-

bishop primate, the grand chancellor of Lithuania, the grand marshal, and their friends, absented themselves from the servile assembly and repaired to Cracow. The diet, although surrounded by an armed force, began with a protest by all the deputies of Podolia and Volhynia: upon which the foreign soldiers were quartered by hundreds upon all those nobles who were attached to the cause of independence: eight days were allowed to the diet to conform to the wishes of the allied powers; and it was declared that in case of refusal, 30,000 men should enter the city at the expiration of that period, and their obstinacy should be subdued by all possible means. On the seventh day, a great number of the deputies left the city, and the remainder subscribed the terms; by which Poland was compelled, not only to renounce all claim to and connection with the district of which she had been deprived, but to engage to protect the three powers in the possession of the countries they had seized.

The latter now established a permanent council which was dependent on themselves, and could easily be influenced according to their pleasure. The king of Prussia declared, that if the republic did not place this council in actual existence on a certain day, he would consider its refusal or delay as a declaration of war; and he at the same time demanded possession of a district on the Netze not usually bounded by that river, but which was occasionally covered by its waters during extraordinary floods. The Austrian commissioners of boundaries drew a line from the mouth of one river to another, and demanded all the districts comprised within the sinuosities of the streams, as the shores of those rivers: instances frequently occurred in which a district was usurped without assigning any reason whatever; and a similar proceeding often took place, out of pure philanthropy, in which the object of the appropriation was to relieve the country people from illegitimate authority. The permanent council was established: it consists of forty senators and noblemen, nominated by the diet, who continue in office until the succeeding session of that assembly, and transact all military and

foreign affairs, and the business of the high police: it can expound the laws, but cannot enact them.

Prussia was in some instances obliged to abandon a part of the districts which it had seized; but before these temporary possessions were relinquished, the flocks were driven away, the forests cut down, the magazines emptied, even the most necessary implements taken away, and the taxes raised by anticipation.

It pleased the Almighty, at this period, to display the morality of the great.

## SECTION XII.

### THE TURKISH WAR OF 1768.

The protection which the confederates received in Turkey, and mutual complaints concerning the incursions of the wandering hordes of Tartars and Cossacks, had some years before furnished a pretence for war between the Porte and the Russians. It was in reality impossible that the Turks could contemplate with indifference the transactions which took place in Poland: and the French court, in the miserable condition in which it was at that time placed, possessed no other means of assisting the Poles than by giving occasion to some diversion which might otherwise engage the attention of the Russians.

The padisha Mustafa, at the first entrance of the Russians into Poland, announced that his attention was aroused by that movement: and the empress on her side declared that the republic had requested assistance from her, in order to quell some internal commotions, which her native magnanimity, and her neighborly friendship towards that unhappy country did not permit her to refuse; that these troops were neither numerous nor well provided, and were not even commanded by a general, as they received all their orders from prince Repnin, who was the ambassador of Russia at Warsaw.

A body of Russians who were pursuing some of the confederates, afterwards burned the Turkish town of

Balta, and put all its inhabitants to death without distinction. This deed was represented by the Russians as merely an irregular proceeding of the Haidamaks, but was considered by the Turks as an act of direct hostility. Obreskoff, the Russian resident in Constantinople, was required by the divan to give an explicit assurance, that the Russians should immediately abandon all the cities and territories of Poland; and as he had no commission to make any such promise, he was arrested, and conveyed to the Seven Towers. The mufti gave his fefta: war was declared, Mohammed Emin Pascha Kaimakan, nominated grand visier, and the European and Asiatic dominions of the Porte summoned to arms. While all the officers who were to compose the suite of the grand visier were preparing at Constantinople for their departure, the multifarious hordes of militia assembled themselves out of Asia, and covered the Bosphorus and Hellespont with numerous transports. On the other hand, the different nations composing the extensive empire of the autocrat of all the Russias, most of whom were barbarous, put themselves in motion, and sent a three-hundredth part of their whole population to open the campaign on the Dniester, under the command of general Rumjänzoff; and a body of troops, selected from among the corps dispersed over Poland was assembled on the side of the Ukraine and Podolia, under Soltikoff. The capitation tax of the Russian empire was raised, a war contribution of twenty per cent. levied on all salaries, and an impost of five roubles laid on all coach-horses.

Two hundred and fifty thousand men, without including the Tartars, marched from Constantinople towards the Danube; and twenty ships came to the assistance of the padisha from Mohammed el Hussain, sherif of Morocco, and fifteen from the republics of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. The frontiers were defended by prince Galitzyn and Rumjänzoff: the army of the former consisted of thirty-one regiments of infantry of two thousand each, forty regiments of cavalry each eight hundred strong, and a park of one hundred cannon: the force under the command of the latter amounted to forty-one thousand men. The

numbers engaged in these modern contests are, however, subject to as great suspicion of exaggeration as those which are said to have composed the hosts of Darius and Xerxes.

The first hostile procedure was the devastation of the frontiers, which occasioned want of provision: and the immediate consequence of this was a prodigious desertion from the Turkish army. It is said that the Tartars burned one hundred and fifty-four towns and villages in the course of the winter, and carried more than fourteen thousand families into slavery.

A. D. 1769. In the spring, the standard of the prophet was carried through the streets of Constantinople: but the progress of the visier was so difficult and tedious, that at the end of April he had advanced no further than Adrianople. The first operations of the war, which took place at Chotin, were so unfavorable to the Russians, that prince Galitzyn was compelled to recross the Danube. The visier was incessantly employed in exercising in the plains of Isakschia his undisciplined troops, whom he wished to convert into soldiers before he led them against the enemy. Chotin was suddenly attacked by the Russians, but was reinforced by the visier, and defended itself with such spirit that Galitzyn was again obliged to give way.

The calumnies of Molodowni Ali Pasha, effected the recal of the visier, and his successor crossed the Dniester: just at this period torrents of rain fell in the mountains, the rivers rose to a great height, the bridge of boats was destroyed, and the Turkish army found itself divided by an impassable stream. That part which had already passed over, withstood the attack of the Russians with the greatest courage: their brethren, who were spectators of the affair, looked on with silent admiration; and the visier was utterly at a loss what steps to take. When this part of the troops had almost entirely fallen, the whole army on the opposite bank raised a loud cry of execration; they forgot Chotin, and retreated hastily to the Danube: in fourteen days, forty thousand men deserted the standard of the visier, "with whom God and his prophet were not." The Russian armies now effected a junction, and

took possession of Chotin, where they found a plentiful provision of artillery: the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia were the fruits of this victory; and Elmpt and Prosorofsky entered Yassy, Bukoräschty, and Gallatsch, without resistance.

While the late visier was sent into banishment, Rumjänzoff hastened to attack Halil his successor; and count Panin supported the field-marshal, and covered the frontiers. A. D. 1770. It was determined to separate the Turkish army, and to intercept their supplies: the war was therefore carried on both by land and water; and as it was not sufficient to have the command of the Euxine Pontus, so long as the Bosphorus remained open to the Turks, a Russian fleet sailed round Europe, and appeared in the Archipelago.

The visier took advantage of his superior numbers to disturb his enemy on all sides: he drove them out of a part of Moldavia and Wallachia, and opened a communication with the fruitful plains of Bialogorod. But the appearance of the enemy in the south compelled him to dismiss the Macedonians, who were his best troops. Rumjanzoff and the visier came in contact near the confluence of the Pruth with the Danube, and remained during a whole month contemplating the situation of each other. Halil was strong and well posted; but the excessive eagerness of a part of his army gave occasion to a contest in which they were defeated: both the visier and his army were obliged to yield the palm of superiority to the veterans who had stood in the field against Frederick. Prosorofsky now effected a junction of the districts situated between the Dniester and the Dnieper, and thus facilitated the siege of Bender, which was undertaken by count Panin. This place was garrisoned by a pasha, at the head of sixteen thousand soldiers, and was provisioned for two years: the sallies made by this officer were executed with heroic courage: the Russians lost a great number of men, and their artillery was but ill served; they suffered for want of provisions; and of the fourteen regiments encamped before the place, ten were newly raised. The fortifications were very extensive, and held out for two

months: but at the end of that time, a compression ball, (which is a complication of several mines, charged with four hundred poods of gunpowder,) produced a large breach: the Russians now entered the place by storm, and the contest was maintained in all the streets and gardens till they reached the citadel; and during the massacre a fire broke out from several quarters, which continued to burn during three days and nights. All the myrses of Budjiak now submitted, in order to save their beautiful villages, the work of a long course of industry, from devastation: Kilianova, and Bialogorod opened their gates, and Brahilow was burned. The visier retreated into the mountains of Hæmus. Panin had retired from the service, because the promise which he had made to his soldiers before Bender, had not been fulfilled; and general Baur, his successor, made himself completely master of Moldavia and Bessarabia, which consist of beautiful and uncultivated steppes, interspersed with luxuriant pastures and forests, and possessing abundant salt-works and mines: between Akjermann and Bender, the country is an uninterrupted garden. Moldavia contains about one thousand square miles of territory, and Wallachia is still more extensive: this district is depastured by 500,000 Transylvanian sheep, and abounds in wine, Turkish corn, tobacco, and all the useful species of animals; and here, where despotism, war and pestilence, have depopulated the country, forests of fruit trees have grown spontaneously.

The Peloponnesian war was begun with success not less brilliant. Greece, long accustomed to subjection, was but ill provided with troops; and the inhabitants pursued their own business almost without interference on the part of the inactive and usually mild government. But when they received intelligence of the enterprise of the Russians, a Christian people of the Greek church, to deliver the Greeks from the yoke of the barbarians, the love of liberty was rekindled in many of their hearts, developed itself rapidly and irregularly, and stood only in need of proper discipline and a good leader, to produce the most important results. Alexej Orloff made his appearance with only six ships, while Navarino, the native country of Nestor,

was conquered by Hannibal. All Laconia, the plains of Argos, Arcadia, and a part of Achaia, rose in insurrection, and spared none of their former rulers: and the islands under the dominion of Venice, manifested equal impatience. The Turks, in the mean time, crossed the isthmus in order to relieve Patra. The war in Peloponnesus was always attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the great number of important posts which required the presence of the Russians and of the armed Greeks, who were but few in number, in too many places at the same time. The Mainottes fought one unsuccessful battle on the isthmus; upon which the seraskier pacha of Bosnia, with thirty thousand Epirots, Illyrians, and Albanians, advanced with little resistance into the ancient Messene. The rising cause of freedom met with the most severe blow at Modon: the Mainottes were not possessed of that degree of military skill which enables a small body to vanquish a much more numerous enemy: the seraskier compelled Orloff and the Knäs Dolgorukoj, to retreat to Navarino. Two thousand Greeks, full of valor but unacquainted with discipline, made another vain attack upon Modon: the Mainottes now retreated to their mountains; and it was manifested to the view of the whole world, that freedom without order is a vain idea.

But admiral Elphinstone, after having cast anchor near Tänarus, sailed to the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Turkish fleet, which was far more numerous than his own, in the waters of Epidaurus, and afterward pursued it into the canal between Chios and Asia. The Turks had fifteen ships of the line and an equal number of xebecs and gallies, which they placed in a position defended by rocks and islands. The Russian fleet, with four frigates and fireships, was arranged opposite to them in three lines. Spiritoff commanded the van, Frederick Orloff the middle division, and Elphinstone the rear. Spiritoff suddenly attacked the Turkish admiral, whose ship presently took fire: Sesir Beg endeavored to save his vessel, but the anchors had become entangled, and the mainmast in flames fell on Spiritoff's ship: the men now jumped into shallops or into the sea, and in a moment both the admirals' ships were

blown into the air. This terrific spectacle kept both sides for a short space of time in astonishment: the Turks, however, by the advice of Hassan Bey, retreated with their vessels into the straits, under Tschesmé, upon which lieutenant Dugdale, with four fire-ships filled with bombs and red-hot balls, protected by admiral Greigh, approached the Turkish fleet in the night of the 26th July, and set it on fire. Three nations contended for the honor of this scheme: the Russians and the English disputed it with each other; and another competitor appeared in the person of Rau, a Hessian. The Turkish fleet, pent up in the narrow bay, continued to burn for five hours; but Hassan escaped with his ship through the midst of the enemy: while the conflagration of the vessels was going on, the magazine at Tschesmé blew up, and destroyed both the town and the citadel. The sailors, peasants and soldiers fled in the utmost disorder to Smyrna; where Kara Osman Oglu, a powerful chief in that country, was scarcely able, by the utmost exertions of courage and authority, to quiet the disturbance.

The conquerors now made their appearance at Lemnos, where they remained instead of forcing a passage, as many thought they might have done, through the ill-defended straits of the Dardanelles, and dictating the terms of peace at the gates of the terrified capital. The garrison of the citadel of Lemnos in vain requested permission to make an unmolested retreat; and while the Russians were endeavoring to obtain possession of it by force, Hassan, who was now kapudan pacha, inflamed the zeal of three thousand volunteers, who unexpectedly made their appearance in some wretched vessels, and set Lemnos at liberty. The Russian fleet afterwards remained in the harbor of Ausa, and in the waters of Paros. The Porte was entirely destitute of ships; Syria and Egypt were in a state of insurrection; and though the war lasted four years longer, the victors of Tschesmé effected no settlement either in the Grecian islands or on the continent.

Toward the end of this campaign, some ignorant or selfish Russians at Yassy, purchased some goods infected with the plague. The commandant of the place thought

he displayed his courage by adopting no precautions: the disorder soon raged throughout the city, and men fell dead in the streets. The pestilence arrived at Chotin, and in a short time reduced five regiments of infantry to four hundred men; it was communicated by infected clothes to the grand army, which Rumjänzoff was therefore obliged to separate in the utmost haste. Some soldiers had already conveyed it to the great town of Kyow, where the physicians were either ignorant of its character, or afraid to mention its name: its fury therefore soon became irresistible; fugitives spread it beyond the Dnieper, and in the mountains; poor people, and even the officers of the police, plundered the houses whose inhabitants had been destroyed by the disease; and the remainder of the population was saved with difficulty by the effects of the winter, and the courageous arrangements adopted by major Schippow. Some wool received from the Ukraine in the mean time infected the great manufactory at Moscow, on which account processions were performed, which only served to spread the disease: all the commanders and nobles quitted the city, and order and authority were entirely at an end. Nine hundred men fell victims daily, and numbers lay unburied in the streets and houses. A merchant who represented himself to have been cured miraculously by an image, gave occasion, by this means, to a most dangerous assemblage of the multitude, who collected to pray to the holy virgin for their lives: and the effect of this practice was so fatal, that the archbishop gave orders that the image should be removed in the night. When this circumstance came to the knowledge of the people, all Moscow became a scene of fury and insurrection, and the archbishop was murdered, by blows of hammers, before the high altar in the monastery of Donsk, which lay without the city. All the sick, in order to enjoy the remaining moment of their lives, quitted the hospitals, stormed and plundered the bishop's palace, and inflamed their own rage with the contents of the cellars. At this moment Jerapkin made his appearance at the head of the garrison: his soldiers marched over corpses; persons were infected on both sides in the scuffle, and others died under strokes of the knout. The calamity

was at last arrested by Gregory Orloff and the cold of winter, after ninety thousand individuals had been its victims in Moscow and the neighboring villages.

In the year 1772, the entrenchments of Perecop, at the entrance of the Crimea, were forced, in the space of four hours, by the troops under the command of prince Dolgorukoj, and the Crimea itself was taken possession of by the Russians. The grand vizier was defeated at Babadagh, and forced to retreat into Hæmus; the janissaries rose upon their aga, put him to death, and set fire to their camp; and in consequence of their discontent, Mussun Oglu, one of the best officers in the Turkish service, was appointed to the post of grand vizier in the room of Halil: Mussun conducted the fruitless congress of peace at Fokzany.

The Porte in the mean time was delivered from Ali Bey, who was born in Caucasus, and sold in his youth into Egypt; where, after having served ten years, he succeeded to the power of his commander, the bey of that province. From this time he aided the factions with his approbation, if he was not indeed the author of the ruin of Ebn Haman, his first benefactor: he became sovereign of the country, in much the same manner as Psammetichus, two thousand five hundred years before, by the murder of eleven beys, and the banishment of an equal number, the confiscation of their wealth, and the distribution of their offices among his brother-in-law Mohammed, and other confidential slaves: after which he caused the pacha to be put to death.

He concluded an alliance with Scheikh Daher, the lord of the land of Canaan, and assisted him in the conquest of Sidon and the siege of Damascus. But his brother-in-law forsook his cause, because, impelled either by necessity or avarice, he had insulted the holy cities of the moslem: Mohammed fled into Egypt, where the people were ill disposed to the interests of Ali, because the privileges which he allowed to foreigners had alienated their affections. His soldiers deserted to the enemy; Ismael, his son-in-law, whom he advanced to an important post, abandoned him; and Ali lost a decisive battle.

He now took flight through the deserts of Palestine, and arrived at Rama, the abode of the prophet Samuel, where he found his old friend the Scheikh Daher, the conqueror of the Samaritans and the Druses, who, though ninety-three years old, was still full of vigor, and surrounded by his nephews and grand-children. In this country he formed a corps of thirteen thousand men, with which he advanced into Egypt where Mohammed awaited him with an army of sixty thousand. The battle took place on a Friday, which the Moslem keep as a holy day, and was contested with such fury, that of four hundred Greeks and Russians in the service of Ali, three hundred and eighty fell on the field of battle, and his army of thirteen thousand men was reduced to five hundred: his head was sent to Constantinople. Europe had taken a more lively interest in his adventures, because he appeared to be elevated above national prejudices: but his fault consisted in manifesting his contempt for those errors too early, and in too decided a manner.

A. D. 1773. The Russians at length crossed the Danube, and the janissaries gave way. Mussun Oglu, however, availed himself of the advantages afforded by the strong regions of the Hæmus; from which he made two descents, and compelled the Russians to abandon the siege of Silistria, and to hasten back to their bridges on the Danube before he should cut off their retreat. They lost a great part of their artillery near Varna: and at length Hassan pacha swore that not a Russian should pass the autumnal equinox on the Turkish side of the river.

This commander, who was remarkable for the manly beauty of his person, was by birth a Persian: he had been kidnapped when a boy, and made the slave of a Turk, from whose service he freed himself by the assistance of a Greek, and escaped to Smyrna, where he entered into the service of the Algerines. His courage and intelligence recommended him to the dey, who entrusted him with the command of the fortress of Constantine; in which situation he would probably have arrived at an inglorious old age, if the malice of a faction had not obliged him to take refuge

in Spain. The catholic king caused him to be conveyed to Naples, from whence he transported himself in a Danish ship to Constantinople. As he was here accused by the Algerine agent, he obtained an opportunity of appearing before the padisha, Mustafa the Third, who was pleased with his intelligence and characteristic vigor, and gave him the command of that ship which afterwards escaped alone from the unfortunate affair of Tschesmé. When he became kapudan pacha, Hassan eagerly promoted every useful institution in his power: he founded schools of naval architecture, astronomy and geography: he patronized men of useful attainments, especially the young Mustafa, a Briton of the family of the Campbells: he kept his oath to the padisha, by compelling the Russians to retreat across the Danube.

The latter were also unsuccessful in their attempt upon Eubæa; but they plundered Crete and Cyprus. The court of Petersburg became apprehensive of danger from Sweden; on which account the Russian fleet returned to the Baltic, after rather showing what might be done, than having really effected much in the Mediterranean. This expedition is said to have cost thirty-two millions of sequins.

During the same period, Pugatcheff, the cossack, at the head of many warlike hordes, extended his rebellious enterprises, shook the throne of Catharine, and convinced a great number of persons that peace was become necessary to her empire. A. D. 1774. But Mustafa died, and left the throne, not to his minor son Selim, but to his brother Abdulhamed; and as this change of sovereigns took place without any revolution in the state, and as the finances were in a very exhausted state, the presents which it was usual to make on such occasions to the janissaries, were now withheld. From this time they manifested a tumultuous disposition: they refused to serve any longer; the Asiatics returned to their own country; the visier was abandoned by the cavalry; field-marshal Rumjänzoff, who was now able to act without control, cut off his supplies and reinforcements, inclosed him near Schumba, and obliged him, on the 21st July, to conclude the peace of

Rutschuk Känardschy. The mufti said to the padisha, "Since thy people will no longer continue the war, peace must be made!" This intelligence arrived in the Crimea as Hassan was engaged in a contest with Dolgorukoj.

The Russians retained Kinburn, Jenikale, Kertsch, all the country between the Dnieper, and the Bog, Asof, and Taganrok, together with the free navigation of the Euxine Pontus and the Hellespont: the Crimea was severed from the political power of the Turkish emperor, though he retained the Caliphat. The greatest loss, however, which the Turks sustained, consisted in the degree in which their spirit and confidence was depressed.

## SECTION XIII.

### SWEDISH REVOLUTION, 1772.

The constitution of Sweden, since the time of Charles the Twelfth, had been in reality an aristocracy in which factions were more powerful than the laws. Zeal for the new forms of liberty, and a feeling of the wounds which called for a healing and conciliating policy, moderated the evils attendant on this form of government in the beginning; and the welfare of their common country appeared to be the object of all classes of the Swedes. Affairs remained in this state so long as the economical plans of Cardinal Fleury maintained a pacific system in Europe. Twenty years after the death of Charles the Twelfth, the spirit of party began to grow more vehement and to exercise its pernicious influence in blinding the eyes of men to the actual state of affairs. A rupture now took place with Russia, which was attended with unfortunate consequences, because those to whose hands the chief direction of the war was confided, conducted it in a manner alike destitute of energy and of method. The plans adopted were alternately combined and frustrated by the jealousy of the factions; passion on the one hand and discouragement on the other, gave rise sometimes to precipitate measures and sometimes to an equally pernicious inactivity; and Sweden

appeared to be suffering at the same time under the evils of democracy and oligarchy.

The royalists maintained the superiority, until Russia demanded an assurance that Sweden should never adopt a mode of government different to the established form. From that time the king was more and more reduced to the situation of a mere spectator, while the secret of the system of policy adopted was in other hands. At this period the boundaries of Sweden, on the side of Norway, were determined in a very disadvantageous manner; and an unnecessary war was entered into with Prussia, which was so ill conducted that the court of France refused to grant any farther subsidies. The council of state at length mediated a compact, by which their exhausted treasury was to receive twelve millions of livres in the course of a few years; but their opponents censured this measure as a sale of their political independence.

As long as the country had been governed by pacific counsels, and the desires of the rulers had been restrained within the bounds of moderation, agriculture, manufactures and commercial enterprise had again flourished: but when the factions arose to importance, a few of their favored partizans obtained privileges which were extremely injurious to the public welfare, (A. D. 1761); and the number of manufactories, which had previously arisen to eighteen thousand, where within ten years reduced to the half of that number. A. D. 1770.

The nation was discontented, and complained that the senate bestowed the offices in its gift on the slaves of the aristocracy instead of the friends of the public good; that that body encouraged the factious, for the purpose of rendering itself the arbiter of their differences; that such of the peasants as, like Lars Larsson, manifested an independent spirit, were oppressed by the nobles; while others were bribed and seduced to distort the truth, in order to prevent justice from being done; that in the diets the dignified clergy oppressed the inferior members of their body, and the estate of citizens was entirely managed by four or five demagogues. The spirit of party augmented these defects; and even upright individuals perhaps acceded to

the wishes of their friends, instead of rigidly adhering to the welfare of the public, and adopted a line of conduct with regard to affairs of state, which would have appeared to them inadmissible in private life. If we judge them on these principles, it is difficult to say whether the severe punishment which the council of state had formerly suffered, was owing to the errors of their administration or to the weakness of their party. A. D. 1756.

The clergy were afterwards offended by the abolition of a tenth, which they had received ever since the period when they had exercised the rites of hospitality, before the establishment of regular houses of entertainment. Severe sumptuary laws were enacted, and the manner of their execution was frequently odious: the stipends were diminished; those who were perhaps unable to pay the taxes demanded of them, had their cattle and the implements of their industry taken away; private houses were subjected to a search, under pretence of smuggling; opposition was punished with public whippings; and persons actually convicted, were condemned to the loss of honor and even of life.

King Adolphus Frederick, perceiving the voice of dissatisfaction from all quarters, demanded the summoning of the diet; which the council of state refused. The king upon this laid down the government, demanded the seals of office, and caused it to be notified through his son to all the offices, that business should no longer be transacted in his name. The council of state, perceiving the danger of violent commotion, ordered the generals to double the guards: but those officers refused to obey these orders issued by their sole authority. The financial department also refused to increase the pay of the garrison, because they had not received the commands of the king for that measure; and all the colleges were reduced to a state of inactivity. The governor and the magistrates of Stockholm now repaired to the senate, and declared that the third estate would be assembled: upon which the council of state was compelled to consent to the summoning of a diet; and on the ninth day of anarchy, the king resumed the reins of government.

The extraordinary diet assembled at Nykoping: a secret deputation prepared articles of accusation: the whole council of state, with the exception of only two of its members, was removed, and condemned to pay the expenses incurred by this diet, on the ground that it refused to summon the assembly, had fixed upon Nykoping as the place of meeting, and had endeavored to exercise authority over the king. The constitution was preserved; but it was evident to every person that it was practicable to change it.

The king died, while Gustavus the Third, who was the hope of the nation and had been most carefully educated from his youth, was on his travels. At his return, he declared that he was fully sensible of his happiness in being a citizen of a free country; and that he would never consider the partizans of despotism as his friends. He added, that if he should ever be so unfortunate as to violate a constitutional law, or even a future limitation to his authority, if the estates of the kingdom should think fit to adopt such a measure, he now absolved them beforehand from the allegiance which they had sworn to his person. When they were taking the oath, he said, "It is the established usage to do thus; otherwise it would appear to me unnecessary. I consider him an unhappy king, who is obeyed only because his subjects are compelled to submit to him."

A great commotion soon afterward took place in the fortress of Christianstadt, situated on the frontiers: the council of state was accused of a treacherous dereliction of its duty; and the nation was called upon to "give to the king what belonged to the king." Charles duke of Sudermania, a brother of the king, who happened to be at Carlscrona, made himself master of that important place, of the magazine and of the arsenal, under pretence of correcting these insurgents: in his manifesto, he summoned every man to his standard against the yoke of "an infernal crew, whose sword was suspended over the head of every citizen in his house, and of every peasant in his cottage." Frederick, the king's third brother, armed West Gothland.

The senate, as soon as it received intelligence of these movements, commissioned two of its members with full power to adopt all such measures as might be necessary for the maintenance of the constitution: and as suspicion was entertained respecting the dispositions of the body-guard, the regiments of Sudermania and Upland were ordered to Stockholm. The king was required to recall his brothers, and not to absent himself. A letter from the duke of Sudermania fell into the hands of count Kalling, which left no doubt remaining as to the revolutionary intentions of the princes, or that they were acting in concert with each other. The senate sat during the whole night, and is said to have determined to secure the person of the king. On the following day they invited him to attend their sitting: he came; but his body-guard was already prepared to execute the measures on which he had resolved. Gustavus began to complain that so much business was transacted without his knowledge; and the senate, that he withheld from them the public dispatches which came to his hands. The dispute was becoming animated, when the senate was suddenly surrounded on all sides and all its members made prisoners. The colonel of the guard had refused to execute this measure; and had returned his sword to the king, saying, "I am also your prisoner; but am confident that I shall soon be your judge." The commandant of the place in vain summoned the citizens to arms on behalf of what he was pleased to call freedom; they had the good sense not to mistake aristocratic government for liberty. The citizens, the garrison and the guard, were informed by manifestos that "plans had been entertained for subjecting both the king and the nation to the power of a few nobles; but that the king would defend the cause of true liberty, which in his estimation was the greatest good." On the following day, all Stockholm, with the exception of a few of the chief magistrates, took an oath of adherence.

The diet was assembled; the house was surrounded by the garrison and body-guard; and the king in his crown and robes, and bearing the silver hammer of Gustavus Adolphus in his hand, appeared among them, and made a

speech concerning the dangers attendant on factions and the tyranny of the aristocrats, one of the effects of which they might perceive in the high price of bread. He spoke also of the ancient deliverers of the nation; said that he wished to become a Second Gustavus Vasa, that he hated arbitrary power, and intended to reign according to the laws. The new laws were read; in which it was enacted that, in future, the king shall nominate the senate and shall summon and dismiss the diet; that he shall have the power of levying the ancient taxes, and in case of necessity, of appointing new ones: that the whole force of the kingdom, both by sea and land, shall be at his disposal; that the power of declaring war and of concluding treaties of peace and alliance, is also placed in his hands, together with the privilege of appointing to all the offices and dignities of the state. On the following day, the senate was dismissed and corn distributed among the people. Such was the termination of the constitution which had been established fifty-two years before.

## SECTION XIV.

### THE DISPUTE FOR THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION.

A. D. 1777. A few years after these occurrences, Maximilian Joseph, son of the emperor Charles the Seventh, and the last elector of Bavaria, died. In him that branch of the family of Wittelsbach, which had now honorably governed Bavaria during nearly five hundred years, became extinct; and left the remembrance of many valiant, politic, and even beneficent princes; but not the reputation of a very wise government, or of a constitution modelled upon noble principles.

Charles Theodore von Suzlbach, elector of the palatinate of the Rhine, and head of the next branch of the family of Wittelsbach, was entitled to the succession by a family compact which had been formerly concluded, and was agreeable to the laws of the empire: he was therefore immediately proclaimed; and repaired without delay to Mü-

nich. He had, however, scarcely arrived in that city, when he was informed that the house of Austria had determined to enforce its ancient claims on lower Bavaria: and the new elector, conscious that he was able to oppose no successful resistance to the preponderating power of that dynasty, consented to a treaty by which he secured the possession of the remainder of his new dominions. Maria Theresa was still living; but Joseph possessed the chief influence in all state affairs of great importance: and the court of Austria, at his instigation, took possession of Lower Bavaria, required an immediate profession of fealty from the states of the country, and declared that the taxes should for the present remain upon the same footing as in the preceding year. The emperor also declared the counties of Schwabeck, Hohenwaldeck, Leuchtenberg, Wolfstein, Hals and Haag, the barony of Wiesensteig, the jurisdiction of Hirschberg, and other imperial fiefs, to have become vacant by the extinction of the family which had acquired them: and the barony of Mundelheim in Swabia, with all that part of Upper Bavaria which is held as a fief of Bohemia, was also pronounced to be forfeited, in the name of the empress-queen. A large tract of country, along the course of the Danube, the Inn, and the Iser, and the suburb of Ratisbon, where the imperial diet had held its sittings during one hundred and sixteen years, now fell to Austria.

No farther information relative to these proceedings had been communicated to the relatives of the reigning family, or to the estates of the country, or national representatives of Bavaria. The boundaries of the lordship of duke John, which had reverted to Lower Bavaria three hundred and fifty-four years before, had never been accurately ascertained; so that the court of Vienna was obliged to assure the elector, that when it should have seized on the possession of this territory, it would undertake the demarcation with justice and moderation.

Frederick, king of Prussia, however, regarded this whole transaction as one which produced an essential alteration in the balance of power; testified his astonishment that it should have been completed without consulting him; and advised the duke of Deuxponts, who was the presumptive

successor of the childless elector, by no means to give his consent to proceedings which so manifestly contradicted the constitutions of the empire and the treaty of Westphalia, without consulting the other princes of Germany, and especially the crown of France which had guaranteed that treaty. He represented to the court of Vienna, that according to all the maxims of feudal rights, the different branches of a family had an indisputable title to succeed to all the fiefs possessed by their common ancestor: that the succession of the house of Wittelsbach had been secured with extraordinary precision by family compacts, which were in perfect accordance with the laws of the empire, and by that great imperial law, the treaty of Westphalia: that the divisibility of an electorate was in direct opposition to the golden bull of Charles the Fourth, by which the majesty of the emperor and the dignity of the electors was regulated: that it was a cause of extreme astonishment, that so important an alteration should have been effected without any consultation with the empire, which was a stipulated duty on the part of the emperor: and that in reality a compact, which had been obtained by surprise and violence from a single palatine prince, could not possibly be valid, in prejudice to the hereditary rights of his family. Frederick demanded that the elector should be replaced in possession of all the hereditary dominions of Maximilian Joseph: and he declared repeatedly, and in the most positive manner, that as a prince of the empire, as a contracting party to the treaty of Westphalia, and as a friend of the Palatine family, he could not permit such an infraction of the laws, such a violation of the balance of power.

The court of Vienna, on the other hand, replied; that the whole of Bavaria, before the period at which the house of Wittelsbach had acquired the sovereignty of that country, had been restored to their ancestors by the dukes of Austria, out of pure moderation and love of peace: that it was reasonable to require indemnification for so many expensive wars: that the present was not a question relating to an indivisible electorate, because Bavaria, as it was publicly and universally known, had acquired the electoral dignity by the contrivance of Maximilian, only a few gene-

rations previously to this time; which dignity could be transferred only to his immediate descendants: that the whole country of Lower Bavaria, which from very early times had always been ruled by its own land-marshal, was in reality no essential part of the duchy of Bavaria: that the house of Austria could perceive no impediment in the constitution of Germany, to the enforcement of indisputable rights, provided it were done with moderation and with the consent of those princes of the empire whose interests were most immediately concerned: and that it was important to know whether the king of Prussia was resolved to assume the office of arbitrator in all instances; and whether he, whose aggrandizement had been the most rapid, and was attended with the greatest share of peril to his neighbors, intended to set up his arbitrary will as the law by which all the princes were to regulate their conduct: that the emperor Sigismund, who had sold the electorate of Brandenburg to the ancestor of the present king of Prussia, had also conferred Lower Bavaria, which happened to fall vacant during his reign, on his own son-in-law, Albert of Austria: that the sister of the last elector of Bavaria at the same time transferred to her son, the elector of Saxony, all her claims to the allodial possessions and acquisitions of the deceased branch, to their movable property, the revenue of the preceding year, and thirteen millions which had been expended on the Upper Palatinate: lastly, that the family of Mecklenburg recalled to mind the reversion of Leuchtenberg, and other imperial fiefs which had been granted by the emperor Maximilian the First; and founded its claims on a number of sacrifices which it had made for the benefit of Germany.

The armies of Austria and Prussia now proceeded towards the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia. The king endeavored to prove that the reversion granted by the emperor Sigismund to his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, was without any solid foundation, because Albert deduced his claim to this fief-male from his mother, who was a princess of Bavaria, and Sigismund himself at that very time had bestowed fiefs on other dukes of Bavaria. It was remarked that Michael von Priest, the protonotarius who prepared

both these feudal documents, appears from history to have been convicted of falsification; and lastly, it was ascertained that duke Albert formally renounced all claims arising from this investiture. The court of Vienna appealed to the notorious existence of the Austrian titles, to the recognition of these claims by the electors, and to the right of the latter to treat with other courts without the concurrence of the duke of Deuxponts.

The affair was in this manner conducted diplomatically during five months, until in the end of July (A. D. 1778,) the king advanced into Bohemia near Nachod, while his brother Henry marched toward another pass. This kingdom is accessible by thirteen different roads, the least frequented of which is that by way of Rumburg: and the Prussian general Möllendorf, who commanded under prince Henry, took this latter route, which was the least provided with means of defence, being naturally the most difficult of access. This whole campaign, in which Frederick and Lascy, Henry and Laudohn, displayed the effects of long and uninterrupted reflection and the practice of the highest science, was a school of military tactics: few marches deserve to be compared with that of Rumburg, and few retreats with that from Lauterwasser to Schazlar. In this campaign, as in that in which Turenne was opposed to Montecuculi, no battles were fought: the king was not obliged to compromise the safety of an army which was the chief foundation of his power; though on the other hand he exposed no weak point to the attacks of Lascy and Laudohn. Military science is the foundation of political importance, because the other sources of power exist only under its protection: and hence the advancement or decline of this art always makes an epoch in history. It was a grand spectacle to see the ardent emperor Joseph, at the head of the finest army in the world, excellently provided with artillery and arms, opposed to the hoary conqueror of Czaslau, Hohenfreidburg, Rosbach, Leuthen, Torgau, and Lignitz. But before the question in dispute could be decided by deeds of arms, Russia and France effected a mediation, by which the pacific empress queen satisfied herself with a tract of territory, containing scarcely forty

square miles, between the Danube, the Inn and the Salza. Her army was not defeated: but her son was a great loser by the contest, because these occurrences excited alarm throughout all Europe.

A. D. 1779. The treaty was concluded at Teschen in Upper Silesia; and its observance was guaranteed by Russia and France. The court of Austria acquired the district of the Inn, and engaged not to oppose the union of the Franconian principalities of Baireuth and Anspach with Prussia, on the decease of the reigning margrave; and when that should happen, to renounce the feudal claims which the crown of Bohemia possessed in those territories, in return for the renunciation of those which the margraves held in Austria, the greater part of which had subsisted for four hundred and fifty-seven years. Promises were made that the emperor and the empire should be induced to invest the elector palatine with all the fiefs held by the deceased branch of his family; to indemnify the dukes of Mecklenburg by an extension of their sovereign power over their own subjects, which is called *de non appellando* to the tribunals of the empire; and in general to bestow approbation on the treaty. With respect to the Palatine family, Austria renounced all claim to the remainder of the possessions of the late sovereigns of Bavaria, and conferred the Bohemian fiefs in the Upper Palatinate on the new electors. The elector of Saxony was gratified by the acquisition of a country on his frontiers.

## SECTION XV.

### NORTH AMERICA.

We have already seen in the affairs of Poland, the wrongs which may be inflicted by military despotism on the most sacred rights of nations; in the Turkish war, how inferior even a good militia is to a disciplined army; and in the contest respecting the Bavarian succession, that the security of a moderately powerful state depends altogether

on the solution of this question; whether its more powerful neighbors can agree in dividing its territory among themselves. The consideration of this state of public morality and of the relations of power, so destitute of consolation for humanity, leads us to turn our attention to the prospect which the New World holds out to the contemplation of mankind. The passions are coeval with the heart of man, and injustice was in former ages combined with preponderating power: but the modern organization of the great military powers awakens a double apprehension for the fate of all such states as are not also powerful in arms. Perhaps two or three governments, allured by the prospect of advantage to form a combination against the rest, may before long render their will the universal law; or the armies, unwilling to remain the mere tools of despotism for a paltry remuneration, may advance pretensions which will impose new burdens upon the people, or may entirely dissolve the present system of social order. Critical periods in the history of mankind have frequently taken the most unexpected direction; and unforeseen circumstances may restrain the effects of those arms on which we now look with apprehension; or may turn them even against that class of persons by whom they are at present directed. But we will now turn our attention to the origin of the modern republics of America.

After the peace of the year 1763, France paid to Great Britain 95,000 pounds sterling for the restored islands, and 670,000 as a ransom for the prisoners of war: George the Third devoted his share of the captures, amounting to 690,000 pounds, to the public funds. In a few days afterwards, the bank paid for the renewal of its charter 110,000, and the East India Company engaged to pay an annual contribution of 400,000 from the produce of its conquests. The national debt was diminished by about ten millions in the space of twelve years; and of the remaining 129 millions, stated funds were assigned for the payment of the interest of 124. The sources of public prosperity were incalculably increased by new manufactures, the progress of the colonies, and the dominion of the sea. Labor arose in value, and became a premium for

the increase of population, by which the numbers of those who had emigrated or fallen in war were soon repaired. Of forty-two millions of acres, which England is computed to contain, eight millions and a half yielded as much corn, in productive seasons, as would suffice for the maintenance of five millions of inhabitants during five years. All the soil of the country became more productive, in proportion as greater attention was paid to accommodate the mode of culture to the circumstances of each particular district: the incredible increase of pasturage, in thirty years, doubled the exportation; the ordinary annual produce of wool was estimated at 1,200,000 pounds sterling; and the manufacture of this commodity quintupled its value, and gave employment to 1,500,000 persons. In the year 1736, Ireland sent 450,000 ells of linen to the market of Chester; and in the year 1771, almost a million; and this was only the half of the produce: attention was paid in that country to unite the rivers and to keep the harbors open. The high price of the necessaries of life, and the unequal distribution of certain taxes, having diminished the manufactories of cloth in England, those of Scotland, which in the year 1720 made only three millions of ells, in 1759 produced more than 10,800,000. The newly acquired province of Canada yielded furs to the amount of 300,000; and the colonies thus supplied the materials for the manufacture of hats. The iron, steel, copper, and tin works of Cornwall, gave employment to 400,000 persons; and the exportation of these articles, after supplying the home consumption, amounted to the annual value of 600,000 pounds. Forty thousand persons worked in the mines of Cornwall; and as many more in the lead, copper, and coal works in other parts of the kingdom: a prodigious number of families were supported by the manufactures of Sheffield in iron and steel; the coal mines of Newcastle extended more than half a mile under the sea, and a thousand vessels were employed in conveying their produce. The herring fishery, which had been encouraged by a premium, annually produced 150,000 barrels; the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland were carried on by the labor of 20,000 persons, and the produce in salt fish

amounted to 400,000 pounds sterling. The whole export trade of England advanced from 6,509,000 pounds sterling, which was its amount in the reign of Anne, to sixteen millions in the year 1775: and at the latter period, the quantity of metallic specie in circulation, exclusive of the paper currency, was more than eighteen millions. Although the commerce with Europe was neglected for that of America, yet the trade carried on with Germany sometimes amounted to 800,000, and never fell below 215,000 pounds sterling. The members of the East India Company consisted of 1738 English and 420 foreigners; the share possessed by the former amounted to about two millions, and that of the latter class to 684,000 pounds sterling; and, according to the balance of their accounts in the year 1771, this company possessed 220,000 pounds in specie and 5,300,000 in goods, after discharging all their debts. The capital invested in the West Indies, consisting of estates, slaves, and buildings, was estimated at thirty millions; and the annual produce in sugar and rum was about four millions.

The population, which, according to the state in which we know it to have remained for the last five hundred years, has doubled itself, during that long period, only once in a hundred years, is doubled in North America within twenty-five years: eight thousand Englishmen originally emigrated to that country, and their descendants had already increased to half a million. The wealth of that country increased with equal rapidity: the export of New England, at the commencement of the century, amounted to 70,000; and, seventy years afterwards, it was equal to 800,000 pounds sterling. Above 1070 ships, and about 29,000 Englishmen were engaged in the trade with America; and the latter country rewarded them with the profit of her trade with the West Indies, Africa, Spain, and Portugal.

The constitution of the American colonies bore the original impression of liberty. The king appointed the governor of New England; and the whole body of land proprietors elected a council of twenty-eight members. Military force was almost unnecessary; for the isthmus,

and the islands which cover the entrances of the harbors, afforded natural defences. In Rhode Island, the governor and his deputy, as well as the council, were elected by the people; and in all criminal cases, except those of high treason, murder, and piracy, they also exercised the privilege of pardon. In the midst of beautiful gardens, under a mild climate, and in a healthy atmosphere, arose Philadelphia, the establishment of the virtuous Penn: the inhabitants of the city were supported by the produce of the neighboring country, and enriched themselves by their industry: their manners now began to suffer from the effect of prosperity; the affection which had been hitherto testified for the family of Penn, was in a great measure lost; and some symptoms of confusion began to appear in the interior of the country. The administration of Maryland belonged to the descendants of its founder, lord Baltimore; and was conducted by its governor, with the assistance of a council of twelve, and of the deputies of the districts. Religion was every where free from restraint; agriculture was held in honor; and peace and order were protected against the attempts of parties, and wild and lawless men. Every colony cultivated in security that species of production which it found most suitable to its soil and climate: New England produced wheat, Turkish corn, rice, and barley; this colony contained noble tracts of pasturage; and 6,000 fishermen gained an annual income of more than 322,000 pounds sterling. The healthy colony of Rhode Island produced Turkish corn in great abundance. Nova Scotia, the circumstances of which were less favorable, because its administration was military, enriched itself by its coal mines. On the other hand, New York was situated in a beautiful district, and rose to great importance: 188 ships and 425 sloops sailed from this port; and the banks of the East River were adorned with the residences of superfluity and pleasure. New Jersey was almost a garden. Maryland produced 30,000,000 lbs. of tobacco, and Virginia could deliver 50,000,000. The romantic banks of the Shenando were cultivated by industrious Germans. Farther toward the south, the sun darted his scorching rays on immeasurable tracts of sand:

North Carolina, however, rose to prosperity. South Carolina, the cherished object of solicitude to Coligny, Shaftesbury, and Locke, no longer stood in fear of Attakullakulla, whose people were now entirely subdued; or of the Shaktaws and Creeks, whose numbers were rapidly diminishing: this colony, in which the cultivation of the vine and of silk succeeded as well as in Italy, was second to none in value. At a still greater distance, where Savannah, situated between sand and forest, endures a degree of heat as great as that of Africa, Georgia was now rising to importance. In Florida, only the first beginnings of cultivation were visible in a few spots.

North America, under the protection of Britain, stood in fear of no foreign enemy; and the consciousness of her native strength was already too great to permit her to feel much apprehension even of her mother country. The country itself, its extent and its climate, were the protection of the Americans. The nation, like the country which it inhabited, appeared to be in the full vigor of youth; ardent, independent, and capable of astonishing exertions when roused by the stimulus of the passions.

The peace of 1763 left the nations of Europe under the pressure of an enormous taxation: the reduction of the armies at the same time dispersed a number of men unfit for the employments of honest industry, many of whom, in various countries, swelled the catalogue of crimes; while others sought their livelihood on the Ural and the Volga, in the colonies of Russia: but America became the chief receptacle for the superfluous population of Europe. In addition to these circumstances, the booty procured in war, the treasures of the East Indies, the rapid accumulation of fortunes from the sugar plantations, and a thousand wonderful instances of successful enterprise and good fortune, had multiplied the wants of life, and the caprices of luxury in Great Britain had increased in an incredible degree. The number of profitable offices had been exceedingly increased by the conquests made in war, and by the policy of the court; and as the desire for such places could only be gratified at the pleasure of the king, a much larger proportion than formerly of the landed proprietors devoted

themselves to a city life, and to attendance on the court: they committed their estates to the care of their stewards; and as they enlarged their expenses, and involved themselves in debt, they were reduced to the necessity of raising their rents. The oppressed people were soon driven to utter despair, while their superiors were deaf to their complaints. The court at the same time was obstinately bent on pursuing its resolution to deprive the mountaineers of Scotland of their ancient customs and dress; and in Ireland the public tranquillity was disturbed by the excesses of the "White Boys," "Hearts of Oak," and "Men of Steel." In consequence of all these circumstances, upwards of twenty thousand Irishmen in a short time transported themselves to America, and many thousands from the mountains of Rosshire, from Glengary, Sutherland, Skye, and from all the Hebrides, also sought an asylum where they might perpetuate the customs of their ancestors in the western world. This multitude of recent emigrants to America, adopted a mode of life agreeable to nature and to the principles of primitive equality.

Great Britain, which already governed with one arm the banks of the Ohio, and with the other those of the ancient Ganges, dispatched Cook and Mulgrave in search of new objects of dominion: this empire, whose foundations were laid in freedom, which was great in arms, and still more celebrated for its civil institutions, the object of universal admiration, and of the envy of the most powerful nations, appeared to many to be almost exempt from the ordinary causes of the decay of nations. Yet this empire was in a few years reduced so low, that it continued to excite admiration only by its constancy under misfortune; like the great Cæsar, who, when he discovered Brutus among his assassins, covered himself with his mantle, that he might fall with decency. The power of Great Britain dissolved itself; nations, sprung from her own bosom and nursed in the cradle of freedom, disdained for that very reason to obey her tyrannical commands.

Although the British people were discontented with the terms of the peace, though the French were expelled from the continent of America, and the disorderly court of Lewis

the Fifteenth could not be an object of apprehension, the English government established a permanent military force in America, under the orders of a commander-in-chief. This army supported the *executive power*, which had reduced the judges to a state of dependence on itself by means of their salaries, and on that account appeared to the friends of freedom to possess more than the influence to which it was entitled by the constitution. If we reflect for a moment upon the vanity of men, and consider how few individuals, even under free governments, know how to combine the dignity of important stations with the necessary attention to popularity, we shall readily conceive that many of the American governors became disagreeable to the people, and were, justly or unjustly, considered as arbitrary. The ministers themselves, perhaps because they were fearful of betraying any degree of apprehension, appeared to pay but little attention to the representations of the Americans, and replied to them either not at all, or with severity; and about this time party leaders arose among that people, who excited, in the minds of their countrymen, the deepest resentment of the haughtiness of the English government.

Under these circumstances, the ministry attempted to deprive the Americans of their commerce with the French and Spanish colonies, by the profits of which the British colonists were chiefly enabled to pay for the manufactures of the mother country. They now adopted the resolution of accustoming themselves, as much as possible, to do without the commodities of England; and during this period of dissatisfaction the stamp-tax was introduced among them by the parliament of England, by which measure, as they alleged, that assembly disposed of the property of a great people who were not represented in it, and over whom it had no right whatever: the colonies were founded at the expense of the colonists, while the advantages arising from their preservation had been shared by England in common with themselves. The epoch of the decline of the British dominion in this country, like that of the destruction of the Stuart dynasty at home, was the moment when the nature and origin of the right of government became the sub-

ject of investigation. The Americans were driven, by the imprudence of their adversaries, from a timid opposition to particular proceedings, to the declaration of their independence.

They refused to submit to the stamp-act, alleging that the territory which was under their own regulations, defended by twenty thousand of their own troops, and sufficiently productive of taxes to defray the expenses of that force, belonged of right to them, and that they would suffer no arbitrary taxes to be imposed on it. The colony of Massachusetts Bay, one of the most important of the whole number, and in which the spirit of republicanism was especially prevalent, encouraged all the rest by its example. The Americans assembled a general congress, and the ships in their harbors exhibited the tokens of mourning and of indignation. Amidst all these proceedings, the leaders, who were anxious that no immoderate or overstrained measures should be adopted, carefully withheld the people from all excesses: and their writings were composed in the language of the weaker against the powerful, but at the same time in that of united and resolute men. The hour of final separation, however, was not yet come; and the English parliament at length rescinded the stamp-act by a majority of votes. America appointed this day as an annual festival; the clothes which had been manufactured in the colonies were distributed among the poor, and all the people of property appeared in garments of English manufacture.

But the ministry performed neither justice nor injustice effectually: they were driven to the former evidently by compulsion, and they committed the latter without energy. Boston had, of its own accord, offered compensation to those who suffered in the late disturbances; but the ministers demanded that as a duty, which they were inclined to perform spontaneously. The community was thus excited to suspicion respecting the official reports of the governor's council, and took the first opportunity of electing other individuals. The governor reprimanded them for this exercise of their elective privilege; and they, in turn, drew up a representation of the case, and sent it to the king. This

document could not be signed by the governor, as it was usual on such occasions, because it was directed against his own proceedings: this informality gave the king a pretence for refusing to receive it; and the governor henceforth discontinued the holding of these assemblies. About this time a reinforcement of troops was sent to America; and all New England was anxious that the commons should be assembled.

In the moment of this ferment, the English parliament imposed a duty on tea, for the purpose of relieving the East India Company of a tax of 25 per cent., in order to enable the company to sell that article as cheaply as the Dutch. This occurrence manifested that the English government, when it allowed the stamp-act to be repealed, by no means intended to abandon its pretension of a right to tax the colonies. The Americans were extremely enraged, and refused to pay the duty: it was natural that the popular leaders should avail themselves of the circumstances of the times, for the promotion of their own designs; but the imprudent conduct of the English ministry was their best ally.

Under these circumstances, some young men of Boston, disguised like Mohawk Indians, threw three cargoes of tea into the sea, in the presence of the governor, the council, the garrison, and under the cannon of Fort William Henry, without resistance.

Proceedings such as these were matter of rejoicing to the ministerial party, who thought they afforded a favorable pretext for effecting the complete subjection of the colonies: and many, even of the friends of liberty in England, thought it utterly improbable that America would be able effectually to resist the power of the mother country. When the ministers were warned that the colonies would make common cause against them, they replied, that in that case the colonies would only have to ascribe their misfortunes to their own imprudence: but despised enemies are dangerous.

The parliament, on the principle of affording the necessary protection and indemnification to commercial rights, suspended the privileges of the harbor of Boston; ad-

judged the inhabitants to make compensation for the property destroyed; revoked the original charter of the constitution of Massachusetts Bay; and, since a resolution of the council was necessary to enable the governor to employ the military force, the election of that body was taken from the community and given to him. He at the same time received orders with regard to such persons as should be obnoxious to the displeasure of colonial authorities on account of their attachment to the government of the mother country, to send their causes to England for adjudication. In order to keep the Americans more effectually in check, the boundaries of the newly-acquired province of Canada were extended behind the other colonies; the council of that province, which was nominated by the king, and half the members of which were catholics, was provided with more extensive powers; and the civil jurisprudence of the despotic government of France was established as the law of all the inhabitants of the province, not excepting those of English birth; while, on the other hand, the milder criminal code of England was introduced even with regard to the native Canadians.

It was in the mean time resolved in the general congress of America, that the parliament of Great Britain had the right of enacting general laws, and the king that of refusing to confirm the provincial statutes: but that in all matters relating to property, none but the owners, or their representatives, had any power whatever to legislate. With these moderate resolutions, they united measures of defence; and it was agreed that the cultivation of tobacco should be exchanged for that of the articles necessary for food and clothing: obedience to the royal governors was disallowed; and those gentlemen saved themselves by a precipitate flight. Representations were still continually made to the mother country; but these documents were rejected by the parliament, because they were signed by order of the congress. New York endeavored to obtain the honor of effecting a reconciliation; but her memorial was rejected on account of its title. The parliament declared, that in pursuance of the fundamental law of 1689, only the lords and commons in parliament assembled, and

no other body in the British empire, had the right of making any regulations with regard to taxes.

It would have been possible to have given to the British empire a constitution, in which its provinces should be admitted to their reasonable share of influence; in which case, the freedom and power of the state would have been confirmed on new foundations, and Great Britain would still have continued to be the head of the empire, until the maturity of the New World should at length have rendered it necessary to transport the seat of supreme power across the Atlantic.

During all these occurrences, the English minister of state, lord North, seemed to have as little apprehension of interference on the part of the house of Bourbon, as if the court of Versailles had been utterly inaccessible to the suggestions of jealousy or revenge; or as if the cause of a government against its subjects, was invariably considered as the cause of all governments. He at the same time compelled the Americans to withdraw from the dominion of Britain, by abolishing all commerce with them; by excluding them from the fishery of Newfoundland; by extending a correctional law to all the states which had sent deputies to the congress; and finally by declaring their ships to be lawful prizes for the freebooters of England.

A skirmish with a body of troops whom general Gage had ordered to take possession of the magazine at Lexington, was the commencement of open war, and Gage proclaimed martial law. The beginning of the contest was animated: the Americans resolved to engage Canada in their cause, either by persuasion or force; and their general Montgomery fell before Quebec; while on the other hand, the English laid siege to Boston, and burned Charlestown. At this moment, since the existence of their country was now at stake, the Americans gave consistency to their cause by the adoption of a regular form of constitution. The latter indeed underwent many alterations, not only from the action and re-action of the parties, but because it was necessary on one hand to give an extremely popular form of government to a people which was summoned to face death in the cause of liberty; and on the

other, because it was impossible to submit such measures as appeared necessary in a period of public danger, to the approbation of the multitude. With regard to the main point, the same principles were every where predominant: the various republican states were distinguished by slight shades of difference with regard to form; but all endeavored to excite the powers of the people by enthusiasm, and to direct their exertions by the mature deliberations of the congress.

Great Britain concluded subsidiary treaties with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, the princes of Anhalt and Waldeck and the margrave of Anspach, for a certain number of their troops. Such treaties were by no means unusual: but the present moment was remarkable from the remoteness of the theatre of war, and especially from the natural love of freedom which interested the virtuous individuals of all countries in the cause of the Americans. Many awaited the result of the contest in anxious expectation, fearful lest these regular troops should be found to possess an overwhelming superiority over a mere militia: but America fought for the Americans; and it was proved that none but the greatest commanders, full of courage, accustomed to victory and engaged in a popular war, are able to make any decisive use of the highest species of tactics. The war in America was conducted in such a manner, as to induce many to suppose that the English commanders protracted the contest from selfish motives: others, that the spirit of party rendered them incapable of vigorously prosecuting a war, which was known to be rather a ministerial than a popular quarrel: while some ascribed its protection to the talents of Washington and to the national power of America; and adduced instances from history to prove that every great nation had acquired its freedom, as soon as it despaired of obtaining happiness by other means.

After the unfortunate expedition of the English against Carolina and the raising of the siege of Boston, all the colonies of North America united themselves in a general confederation for the preservation of their independence. On the news of this occurrence, the French court, con-

formably to its usual policy of supporting the weaker party in all their contests against the power of its rivals, resolved openly to adopt the cause of the Americans which it had hitherto only favored in secret, and to deliver the navigation and commerce of the world from the preponderance, or rather from the absolute control of the British nation. But a far more wonderful spectacle was displayed by the king of Spain; who, although the sovereign and oppressor of South America, joined his arms to those of France for the establishment of a free state in the northern division of that continent.

This war undermined the resources of the European courts: it doubled the already exorbitant debt of Britain; it cost the court of Versailles more than nine hundred millions of livres; while the people became accustomed to the ideas of freedom, and discovered the important secret, that unpopular government is in itself insecure.

The war was conducted for a time without any very remarkable occurrences: the house of Bourbon was satisfied with keeping the enemy of its new ally in a state of inactivity: it was apprehensive of the caprices of fortune, and could not fail to recollect the former fame of the British arms. The circumspect Washington sought only the durable reputation of attaining his object, and never suffered himself to be seduced by the hope of a splendid achievement to risk any solid advantage. At length, an army composed of English and Germans, was surrounded and made prisoners at Saratoga by the despised militia of the New World.

After this misfortune, the British parliament manifested a degree of fortitude worthy of the sublime example which the Romans displayed after the defeat at Cannæ: and if the military system of our times had not become widely different from that of antiquity, especially in this respect, that the state of the finances is now of as much importance as the talents of statesmen or the heroism of the combatants, this contest might, after all, in its result have resembled that of the Romans with Hannibal and Carthage. But after Elliot had displayed what the spirit and talents of the Britons are capable of achieving in the art of defence;

and Rodney had proved that in the day of battle this nation is still worthy of the fame of their fathers; the English acted wisely in preferring to acknowledge the independence of America, (A. D. 1783,) rather than entirely exhaust the resources of their state in a contest in which there was nothing to gain.

These occurrences are yet fresh in our memory; and their consequences are already perceptible in a variety of respects. The exhaustion of the powers engaged in the American war decided the superiority of other states: the Porte, which next to Switzerland was the most ancient ally of France, could expect no effectual assistance from that power against the Russians; and Joseph now arbitrarily annihilated the barrier-compact and other stipulations of the peace of Utrecht. A blaze of freedom burst forth beyond the ocean, which produced an electrical effect on the west of Europe, and exerted an attractive influence on all those who wished to secure to their descendants the enjoyment of the rights of man and of secure prosperity. Many persons, either incommoded by the social institutions of our quarter of the globe, or persecuted by misfortune, or endowed with the spirit of enterprise and ambitious of discovering new sources of opulence, turned their longing eyes to the western hemisphere. The following short delineation of the situation of Europe will show that these views were not unreasonable.

# BOOK XXIV.

## SITUATION OF EUROPE IN THE YEAR 1783.

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## SECTION I.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE maritime powers may be properly divided into two classes: that of the house of Bourbon in France, Spain, and both the Sicilies; and the Protestant interest, as it is called, comprising Great Britain and Holland: the armed maritime neutrality forms an intermediate class. The principal strength of Russia, however, consists in her land forces; nor does any other monarchy, except the above mentioned, consider the ocean as the principal foundation of its power.

Among the territorial powers which are able to maintain the political system of Europe in equipoise, or to menace its security, the first place, on account of the strength and excellence of their armies, belongs to the imperial courts, to France and Prussia: nothing but transcendent personal qualities, such as those of a Gustavus Adolphus, is capable of placing any of the inferior states, even temporarily, on a footing of equality with these potentates.

The Ottoman padisha is the most powerful monarch of the barbarians: Persia and Hindostan are in a state of anarchy; China remains as heretofore, separated from the rest of the world, and is an object of less interest to the powers of Europe than the sheriff of Morocco, and the communities on the north coast of Africa.

Among the smaller states, Sardinia and Switzerland will be most conveniently surveyed after the dominions of the house of Bourbon: France alone can promote the designs of the court of Turin with regard to Lombardy; and Switzerland has lately renewed her connection with that monarchy, by an alliance for fifty years. Scandinavia, the empire of the Germans, Poland and the Italian states, will successively present themselves to our consideration after the preponderant land powers: their friendship and hostility, their duration and decline, are highly important with respect to the balance of power in Europe.

## SECTION II.

### CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.

France alone, in consequence of her extent and situation, her soil, population and national character, would be able, if her immense resources were rendered available and efficient by a rational and consistent system of policy, to give laws to the other powers, and to keep the nations of Europe united among themselves.

The government of France did not acquire its despotic character, like that of Spain, by the destruction of the national spirit; but by means of a connected chain of refined maxims of state: and hence public opinion still continues to be its foundation and the rule of its policy. The government would be compelled to pay a still closer attention to the public voice, if it were not for the levity of the national character. The kings of France, in order to obtain an authority free from constitutional restraints, have been under the necessity of allowing many important privileges to the nobility, and great freedom of speech to the people. Intellectual and moral superiority produce more powerful effects in this kingdom than compulsory measures in other states; and if it were not for the *lettres-de-cachet*, an exercise of authority which was first permitted in the latter days of Lewis the Fourteenth; if the taxes were so

distributed as to press with less inequality upon the peasants; and if the virtues and intellectual acquirements of the middle classes were allowed to raise their possessors to a degree of importance somewhat corresponding with that which is conferred on the nobles by their privileges; this kingdom would perhaps be the best existing specimen of the monarchical form of government.

The origin of the great council and of the council of state, has already been shown in the preceding books; a council of despatches was also established for the management of urgent business requiring rapid execution, to which provincial affairs and important civil causes were afterwards confided.

The civil law consisted of the Roman code, more than two hundred and eighty customary rights, and the royal ordinances: the number and diversity of the precepts, which afforded but too profitable a field for the artifices of the advocates, formed an useful bulwark to civil freedom against the despotism of arbitrary power: the latter indeed was every where opposed by obstacles, and was obliged to clear its way through the ruins of a hundred legislations. The spirit of the French laws was perceptible in the civil and criminal ordinances, which were productions of the better part of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, and in the *code michaut*, compiled in the days of Richelieu; though the latter was an unauthorized work.

From the lowest class of tribunals, those of the provosts, castellans and mayors, the judicial causes were transferred to the bailiff, seneschal, or presidency; and appeals were decided by one or other of the fourteen superior courts, or *cours souveraines*.

The parliament of Paris, the constitution of which, with very little variation, resembled that of all the rest, consisted of the great chamber, the chamber of inquests, and that of requests. The chief president was at the head of the great chamber: and an important and highly beneficial influence was frequently exercised by this office, from the senatorial gravity, the ancient learning, the acuteness, and dignity of its possessors. Under this chief officer were nine presidents, distinguished by the antique form of

their hats; twenty-five temporal, and half that number of ecclesiastical counsellors; three administrators-general; the procurator-general; a number of writers, receivers of penalties, executors of the consignations, commissaries of real attachments, king's servants, and bailiffs. The chamber of inquests consisted of three divisions; each of which had three presidents and about thirty counsellors. The chamber of requests was divided into two bodies, each of which had also its three presidents and twenty-two counsellors, writers, two treasurers for the distribution of the salaries, and three examiners of accounts. The youngest five presidents *à mortier*, with two counsellors of the great chamber and four of the chamber of requests, constituted the *tournelle*, or criminal tribunal. The chancery consisted of the chancellor, twenty-eight counsellors, all the masters of requests, a number of royal secretaries, and the treasurers of the seal-office and golden mark. These institutions were frequently subjected to alterations with respect to individual points: the various privileges were exercised in a more or less comprehensive manner; according to the particular circumstances of each period; and in moments of state-necessity new offices were created.

The parliament was the king's tribunal; it could not possibly be the representative of the states-general, because it had existed at the same time with that ancient assembly; but since the sittings of that body had been discontinued, and even in the preceding period during which it had been summoned but seldom, this permanent college, the office of which was to verify and record the edicts, had been the organ of the public voice in opposition to the abuses of power: public opinion consigned this privilege to the parliament, and the exigencies of the times imparted authority.

The parliament of Paris, according to the spirit in which it was instituted, was the tribunal of the royal peers, who sat in that assembly with the king.

The judicial constitution of the conquered countries was arranged upon a similar plan: Franche Comté was provided with a parliament, which held its sittings at Besançon; and the supreme tribunal of Alsace, the seat of

which was at Ensisheim, was transformed into the high council of Colmar, which possessed the privileges of a parliament, and a similar arrangement of the offices. The three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun had been transferred to Spires, and the dukes of Lorraine maintained a high council: instead of the former, Richelieu established a parliament at Metz, which, after the incorporation of Lorraine, was transferred to Nancy. A parliament was erected for French Flanders; first at Tournay, and afterwards at Douay. A high council for the territory of Rousillon existed at Perpignan.

All the supreme courts had endeavored, by means of letters of union, to form themselves into a connected body, for the purpose of establishing fixed principles of action: and although the parliament of Paris was regarded as the head of the whole corps, she acknowledged their equality with herself, and wished that they should be regarded as subdivisions of the representative national assembly or states-general: and in periods of calamity, when the court was under the necessity of treating the nation with forbearance, the parliament endeavored to establish these as well as still more important claims.

After the peace of 1763, the parliament of Rouen refused to register the regulation established by the king himself in the parliament of Paris, concerning the continuance of the double capitation tax, and of the triple impost of the twentieth. "Normandy," said they, "will pay nothing that her states have not enacted." Malesherbes, who presided over the *cour des aides* with the virtue of a Cato and the graces of an Atticus, under the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth, proposed, in right of his office as president of that body, to convoke that dreaded investigator of abused authority, the states-general.

Lewis the Fifteenth, either unacquainted with the force of public opinion, or vainly imagining that it might be controlled, commanded the provincial governors to cause the edict which he had promulgated to be forcibly registered; and at the same time forbade the combination into which the parliaments had entered, and which in reality was not a legal proceeding. In thus endeavoring to deprive the

nation of the organ of its voice, he displayed the long-concealed mischiefs of despotism: he regarded the parliaments rather with respect to their judicial proceedings than to the political necessity of their existence; dissolved that of Brittany, banished its counsellors, and, among them, the distinguished senator Caradene de la Chalotais; supplied its place by a commission of sixty members, who were not possessed of the public confidence; and, continuing the same line of conduct, cashiered the parliament of Bearn. That of Normandy reminded him of his coronation oath: the court replied, "that the king was responsible to none but God!"—It forgot that the public voice is sometimes the voice of God.

These imprudent measures gave occasion to the renewal of the perilous distinction formerly made by the great Harlay, between those rights of which the king may dispose at his own pleasure, and the laws of the state in virtue of which he holds his station. The parliament of Toulouse raised its voice against the predominancy of the royal council. A famine ensued: this general calamity was ascribed to the improvidence of the government; and the parliament rendered itself popular by prohibiting the exportation of produce, until France should be provided with a year's consumption. Sixty persons, princes, peers and counsellors of parliament, ventured, on the proposal of the procureur-general of Paris and Rennes, to condemn the duke d'Aiguillon, the persecutor of Chalotais and governor of the province. The court interrupted this proceeding, and forbade the princes to take their seats at such sittings of the parliament: but the prince of Conti appealed from this prohibition to his rights: the parliament of Paris protested; those of Toulouse and Bourdeaux declared the duke d'Aiguillon to have forfeited his peerage until he should justify himself; his memorials were burned at Bourdeaux by the hands of the public executioner; and the open letters of the king, in opposition to these proceedings, were rejected.

The king now repaired to Paris: the palace of the parliament was surrounded with soldiers; the monarch made his appearance in that assembly, and demanded that all

the resolutions and proceedings against the duke d' Aiguillon should be annihilated in his presence. Silence was commanded: the king declared the combination of the parliaments to be null and treasonable, and ordered the president to dissolve every sitting in which that subject should be mentioned. The parliament at its next sitting resolved, that the exercise of arbitrary power menaces the spirit and letter of the French constitution, and is an infringement on the king's oath; and that the parliament will not desist from addressing the throne in the language of truth. The same scene was displayed on both sides in the provinces: the famine increased; the popular discontent became more vehement; and at length the duke de Choiseul was deprived of his office in the ministry.

The chancellor Maupeou, who had formerly been president of the parliament, undertook to subdue this opposition by a proceeding entirely new. In the night of the 19th January, (A. D. 1771,) a party of musketeers took all the members of the parliament into custody, with the exception of forty, by the authority of *lettres-de-cachet;* and on the following morning the remaining forty members joined the first president in a protest against this tyrannical exercise of power. The victims displayed a constancy worthy of Roman senators: the voice of the nation was expressed with such boldness on their behalf, that the great council, which had assumed the powers of the suspended tribunal, was surrounded by a body of soldiers for its protection. All the princes of the blood, many of the peers and all the provincial parliaments, protested against this proceeding; and that of Rouen declared Maupeuo's new parliament to be "a crew of perjured enemies to the commonwealth." The chancellor involved all the other parliaments in the ruin of that of Paris, promised that justice should henceforward be administered gratuitously, and represented the factious spirit of the suspended colleges: but his efforts were all vain; for every individual in France considered those bodies as the defenders of the people and the guardians of the laws. Virtue under persecution was an interesting object.

A. D. 1774. The voice of the nation was so decided, that Lewis the Sixteenth, who was always desirous of governing in a manner agreeable to the wishes of his people, began his administration with the restoration of the parliaments. The court, however, rejected their pretension to be considered as subdivisions of the states-general; and forbade them, except in certain specific cases, to communicate to each other their resolutions or representations; to impede the business of the offices, without the consent of the first president, who in that case took the responsibility upon himself; to enter into any combination for the mutual abandonment of their offices; or to delay the registration of the royal edicts for a longer space of time than one month.

The total capital value of the whole number of places under the government of France, was estimated at 663,000,000 of livres: one-eightieth of the salaries was paid to the state as a capitation tax; the tenth penny was reserved; the hundredth, or the *paulette*, was paid as a duty on the continuance of an office in the same family; and when a place was sold, one-sixtieth of the purchase-money was forfeited to the state. So powerful was the influence of public opinion, that the administration of justice, notwithstanding these deductions from the profits of the offices, was incorruptible.*

The revenues of the crown, at the death of Mazarin, amounted to 150,000,000: after the early wars of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the administration of Colbert, the revenue amounted to 260,686,000; the debts of the state to 306,000,000; and the annual deficit to 17,000,000. Up to the period of the treaty of Utrecht, 1,100,000,000 had been borrowed from the 20th penny of the fixed annuities, and the interest of this sum secured upon the produce of the taxes on land, liquors and salt; and 700,000,000 upon the ecclesiastical estates and the territories of the notables. The state debt incurred by Lewis the Great

* "The administration of justice in France was pure where impurity would have been dangerous to the fingers that dabbled in it,—impure, where it was safe." Jeremy Bentham.

amounted to more than 2,000,000,000; and was afterwards reduced by the bankruptcy, which has been dignified with the name of *system*, to 340,000,000: at that period, the revenue amounted to 196,000,000 and the deficit to 16,000,000. Under the administration of Fleury, and after his time, the system pursued amidst these financial alternations was sometimes parsimonious and sometimes prodigal; until towards the end of the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth the popular discontent became universal, and the progress of ruin now appeared irresistible.

The principal sources of the public revenue were eight in number. The crown lands were for the greater part already alienated; but such land-owners as were not of noble rank, paid a rent for their estates when they formed a part of these domains: the impost denominated *les lods* was reckoned under this head: foreigners, unmarried persons, and all those who died without natural heirs or without having made a final testamentary disposition of their property, were subjected to the *droit d'aubaine:* a double tax was imposed upon the sale of noble fiefs: and another duty was payable on taking possession of such estates, or as an acknowledgment of their feudal tenure; a sum was paid from the first year of the purchase: estates held in mortmain under a servile tenure, paid a duty on their transfer, and another every tenth year, as well as at the demise of the ruling prince, under the name of amortisation-money. The forfeited estates of criminals, and the revenues of vacant benefices, were also reckoned among the public resources.

Allied to these articles was the income arising from forests and waters; that which was derived from offences committed against the laws relating to vert and venison; from the felling of timber, and from the rents paid for the privileges of hunting, fishing, and the use of the waters.

The clergy and nobility, all the servants of the king and of the royal family and all military persons, were exempt from the land-tax: in other respects, that impost was partly real, partly personal, and partly supplementary.

Thus, it was paid personally by all the renters of landed property, in proportion to the estimated produce of their estates. In Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, the territory of Agen and at Montauban, it was paid as a real tax upon estates held by servile tenure, without regard to the quality of the possessor; upon the earnings of all workmen and artificers, and upon the profits of the commercial class. The supplement, or subvention, as it was termed, was an equalized sum arising from conquered territories, in which the produce of the territory was supposed to be uncertain, because they were continually exposed to the ravages of war: such was the condition of Alsace, the three bishoprics, Flanders, Franche Comté and Rousillon.

The whole territory of France was divided into eighteen ecclesiastical provinces, thirty-seven military governments, fourteen judicial circles, and twenty-five generalities and seven intendencies for the receipt of the revenue. Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, Burgundy, Brittany and Flanders, were provincial states; the other generalities were divided into elections, each of which comprised a number of parishes and hearths, among which the land-tax was distributed. There existed, however, nothing more arbitrary than the annual valuation of the produce of the estates: an innumerable swarm of officers was required to perform the investigation of this subject; agriculture was oppressed, because when once an estate had been assessed at a high rate to the tax, it was extremely difficult to procure a diminution of the assessment, even when its productiveness had been reduced by misfortunes, or when the necessary improvements were very expensive. The cultivator was uncertain what sum he might be obliged to pay, both before and after the valuation; because he was obliged, from innumerable accidents, to compensate for the deficiencies of his neighbors: and the court was equally uncertain what proportion was its equitable share. All appearance of liberty and opulence was destroyed by a regulation of this nature. The *taille* ordinarily produced about 40,000,000.

Neckar wished to extend the privileges of the six states above mentioned, by the adoption of provincial adminis-

trations: to which the nobility, clergy, and citizens sent their deputies; and the court named the president, and deputed a commissary. They proposed their ideas and objections, without delaying the payments: they carried the voice of the people to the ears of the king: chambers of administration watched over their resolutions.

The capitation tax was levied according to the rank as well as to the property of the subject: from that part of the assessment which was imposed upon rank, not even the heir-apparent to the throne was exempt; that relating to property embraced not only landed estates, but capital of all kinds, including the wages of daily labor, salaries and the profits of commerce. The produce of this impost was about equal to that of the *taille;* and its distribution was equally arbitrary.

The voluntary contributions of the territories of the notables were estimated at ten millions.

The voluntary contribution of the clergy was determined every ten years, in an assembly of deputies from their body which held its sittings in the monastery of St. Augustin at Paris: on the last of these occasions it was settled at twenty millions. The ecclesiastics were besides subject to the payment of a tenth from the produce of their estates, and to the capitation tax. The three bishoprics, with Cambray and Strasburg, sent no deputies to the assembly, but paid a proportionate voluntary contribution.

In various cases of emergency, the twentieths had been levied on private incomes of different kinds; and since the offices had been conferred for life, the salaries had been assessed in the same manner as immovable property. The twentieth was often demanded on the profits of industry, and two *sous* were not unfrequently added to the amount; or the capitation tax was increased by that sum.

The farmed taxes were of two kinds: to the greater class belonged the *aides*, or tax upon liquors; the *gabelle*, or salt-tax; the customs, and the stamps. The districts in which the vineyards were the most important and where the cultivation of the vine was on that account chiefly encouraged, were mostly or entirely exempt from the *aides*. The salt-tax produced a clear revenue of more than thirty-

six millions: over the whole kingdom, with the exception of the conquered countries, the commerce in salt was monopolized by the farmers of this tax: some of the excepted provinces were exempt; and others released themselves from its operation by compositions: and these exceptions were an inexhaustible source of oppression on one hand, and of illicit transactions on the other. The customs were exacted not only on the frontiers of the kingdom, but on those of individual provinces: they were assessed in the interior generally according to the tables of the year 1664; in the frontier districts, which were regarded as foreign countries, according to those of 1667; and at Marseilles, Bayonne, Dunkirk, in the three bishoprics and in Alsace, according to a third rule. All these modes of estimation were subject to numerous exceptions: at Paris, and in other towns which were exempt from the *taille*, and from military service, a duty was levied on the introduction of cattle, fish, eggs, salted provisions, wood, wine, stores, and other articles. Stamps for papers and parchments were invented in the preceding century. Frauds upon the revenue were punished by confiscation and severe penalties: and in case of inability to discharge the fine imposed, the farmer of the district paid the deficiency to the king, and sent the offender to the galleys.

The smaller farms included the collection of the *marc d'or*, the duty on silk and wool before they came out of the manufactory; in twelve generalities the care of the notarial instruments; the duties on soap, oil, and leather; and in Paris, those on venison, fish, and fowl. The post-office was estimated to produce six millions; and tobacco, which formed a separate farm, yielded a rent of twenty-two millions, although Alsace and Flanders were exempt from the tax on that article.

The revenues were farmed with the intention of securing the amount and determining the limits of the public income. As the farmers found it necessary to employ large capitals, they naturally indemnified themselves for their risk, as well as for their trouble and expenses: the greater part of their number contrived to procure a remuneration exorbitant in its amount, and in a manner which was of

pernicious consequence to the interests of the court as well as of the nation; so that the public burdens were found to augment in proportion to the opulence of these speculators, and their acquisitions were considered by Richelieu as so many verdicts of condemnation against their morality: in the latter years of Lewis the Fifteenth, they paid 132,250,000 livres into the treasury.

In addition to the produce of the crown lands, forests and waters, land-tax, capitation tax, twentieths, voluntary contributions and greater and smaller farms, we must reckon the extraordinary supplies arising from moneys unapplied to the purposes for which they had been assigned, from extinguished life-rents and annuities, from vacant offices and from the deficiencies in the regiments: and finally the produce of the mint and the taxes paid by the colonies.

The joyful accession of Lewis the Fifteenth produced six millions.

The national debt, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, amounted to one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven millions, of which one thousand four hundred and nineteen were subject to a perpetual interest of ten per cent., and the remainder consisted of life annuities and tontines extinguishable at different periods, bearing the same interest: the total annual charge on the debt, incurred chiefly by the rapacity and prodigality of the latter years of Lewis the Fifteenth, was 63,865,722. The innate powers of this kingdom are however so great, that after Lewis the Sixteenth had remedied only a part of the mischief, funds were provided for the American war without any reduction of the debt; and not only the deficit was afterwards covered, but under the first administration of Neckar, the revenue yielded a clear annual surplus. The powers of France depend, not like the wealth of other countries, upon the result of fortunate enterprises, or the exertions of art; but upon the character of the nation and the fertility of the soil.

Cardinal Richelieu, at his accession to office, found this kingdom destitute of maritime force; but he created a navy which became victorious during his own life: and

though it was a second time annihilated on the waters of La Hogue, yet under the succeeding administration its strength amounted to one hundred and ten ships of war. In the seven years' war it was again reduced to a single vessel of the line: but France found the means of repairing the loss so completely, that her navy contributed in a very essential degree to deprive the mistress of the ocean of her colonies, while it effectually protected her own commerce, and enabled the French, in the midst of an expensive war, to increase the opulence of their country by the sale of the produce of their inexhaustible industry.

The fleet was distributed among the ports of the east and west; it consisted of four divisions, eight brigades, and seven classes of sailors, who were obliged alternately to five years of service, while the remaining six classes were at liberty to engage in the employment of the merchants: the total number of French sailors was upwards of 70,000.

The land forces of France, since the time of Richelieu, had never been commanded by a constable, or by a colonel-general of the infantry: the dignity of a field-marshal general was now the highest reward of merit; and the staff of a marshal was frequently the prize of favoritism, or of a long life spent without reward in the profession of arms: the rank of lieutenant-general is the institution of a later period. The land forces at the beginning of the American war, were reckoned at 200,000: they were commanded by twelve marshals, one hundred and eighty-four lieutenant-generals, three hundred and ninety-seven *maréchaux de camp*, sixteen inspectors-general of the infantry and seven of the cavalry, two hundred and eighty-four brigadiers of foot, one hundred and fifty-six of horse, and thirty-five of dragoons. The regiments were of various degrees of numerical strength; but the real power of an army consists in its military disposition, in the spirit of order, and the talents of its commander. The principal points of the system were as follows: ten thousand troops belonged to the king's household, eighty-five regiments served on foot, seven with the artillery; eleven were composed of Swiss, and fifteen of foreigners of other nations: the dragoons were six thousand in number, the hussars twelve hundred,

the grenadiers five thousand, and the cavalry fourteen thousand five hundred. A squadron in the time of Lewis the Fifteenth consisted of two companies, each of which comprised three officers and fifty-three privates; a battalion contained eight companies and twenty-seven officers, and each company sixty-three privates, and fifty-two grenadiers belonged to the whole battalion. The court of St. Germain increased the strength of the cavalry, introduced light-horse, and combined chasseurs with the dragoon regiments. The country regiments consisted of forty thousand men: and Lower Navarre was defended at the expense of the inhabitants of Bearn. Each generality had a company of *maréchaussée*, and each government a company of soldiers: and the invalid corps a short time before the war amounted to ten thousand. All the departments of the military system were excellently taught under Lewis the Sixteenth; but court favor, and the privileges of the nobility had a prejudicial influence on the leaders, as the disposition of the nation had on the privates. The army was maintained at an annual expense of one hundred millions; while Frederick, with a revenue not greater than that sum, supported an army more numerous by fifty thousand than that of France, besides defraying the whole expenditure of his government and contributing to the augmentation of his treasure. Attention and order among governments as well as individuals, are usually at first the effects of necessity, and afterwards of habit.

## SECTION III.

### SPAIN.

Spain is less extensive than France by only about fifteen hundred square miles, while its population is only one-third as great: and yet the climate of Spain is serene, and the air almost universally salubrious; there are but few districts that are not at least fit for pasturage; the number of rivers is considerable; some canals have been executed, and others are practicable: but the policy pur-

sued by the Ferdinands and the Philips, has destroyed the life of the Spanish nation.

As the productions of Spanish authors are subjected to six censures; as nothing is allowed to pass through the press without having been examined by the synodal examinator, the chronist of Castile, an official, a royal secretary, the corrector-general, and even the royal council; the truth respecting a number of circumstances will be as little known to posterity as it is to the kings themselves: but the effects of this miserable system of policy are evident to the eyes of all.

The court was obliged by its necessities to seek for new financial resources; and during the administration of the marquis of Ensenade, procured a *concordat* at Rome, by which it was determined, that such estates as the clergy might in future acquire, should not be exempted from taxation on that account; that in great public emergencies the church should bear its share of the burden; and that the nomination to the inferior benefices should belong to the king. The court thus obtained an extraordinary degree of influence over the clergy: because, as the number of such benefices is extremely great, and those who have once experienced the extension of favor in this manner are usually disposed to look for further promotion, this regulation produced a very *loyal* disposition in that class of ecclesiastics which is most immediately in contact with the mass of the people. The pope retained four hundred and fifty-two benefices in his own gift; and the court of Spain deposited 113,000 scudi in the apostolic chamber, at the ratification of this *concordat*.

The tribunal of faith remained; although the dissension which took place between the courts of Spain and Rome under Charles the Third, gave occasion to a peremptory command, that it should publish no papal bull or letter which had not previously received the exequatur, or royal assent; which was "the apple of the eye of authority." The king nominates the grand inquisitor and the six counsellors; besides whom, the confessor, two members of the council of Castile, a royal secretary, alguazil-major and the inferior servants of the tribunal, constitute the

remaining persons. Eighteen offices in the provinces, the Balearic and Canary Islands and America, all of which are subordinate to the supreme tribunal, are found sufficient to maintain the prudential maxim, that "it is better to believe than to inquire!" as the fundamental principle of education and of written and oral intercourse.

Don Carlos the Third, in the beginning of his reign, caused the estates to take an oath of their belief in the immaculate conception: a negociation was also undertaken, the object of which was to elevate the holy virgin, by means of a formal bull, to the dignity of tutelary saint of all Spain, (A. D. 1761): but this attempt was foiled by the cathedral chapter of St. Jago de Compostella, who represented the ingratitude of deposing their great apostle, who had so frequently shown himself, mounted on his white horse, at the head of the armies of Spain.

The twenty-two provinces of Castile contained upwards of ninety thousand secular priests and monks, and twenty thousand nuns: according to Ustariz, one thirtieth of the whole nation belonged to the ecclesiastical body. The clergy of the superior classes were generally sensible and benevolent persons; those of the inferior sort, too numerous not to be formidable when offended: the monks, as a body, were avaricious, and were the support of absolute power, as long as it could be rendered subservient to their interests.

Under Philip the Fifth and Ferdinand the Sixth, Alberoni, Patinho, Ensenada, Valparayso and Wall, successively enjoyed the highest authority as ministers: Don Carlos raised to that dignity the marquis di Squillace, a Sicilian with whom he had become acquainted at Naples, where he had been employed as commissary at war. This nobleman was ruined by the influence of the clergy, whose wealth he is said to have regarded as the means of repairing the dilapidated finances. Other ministers, remarkable for their intelligence but perhaps too incautious, were equally incapable of maintaining their posts.

This court was always inclined to slow measures; which at least afforded ground to hope, that if it should at length adopt good maxims, it would retain them with pro-

portionate tenacity. But the government was deprived of the guidance of public opinion; for the national voice was stifled by the terrific institutions which we have before described, and the convocation of the cortes was discontinued. The supreme direction of affairs, under the king, was confided to the council of state: the high council of Castile consisting of five chambers, resembled the great council in France, or a general directory. Every province was commanded to maintain a correspondence with one of the counsellors of the superior chamber: each province had a district commander, and Upper Navarre a viceroy: each of the commanders was assisted by a council, under which the municipal authorities exercised their powers. The chanceries of Grenada and Valladolid were supreme tribunals of appeal in judicial affairs, and their presidents were appointed by the king. Other supreme tribunals, called audienzas, were established at Oviedo, Seville, and Cordova, and in nine of the cities of the American dominions; one hundred and fifty-three places had municipal constitutions, in which the magistrates appointed the alcades or royal judges, as in Castile; or proposed them, as in Arragon. The municipalities ordinarily consisted of twenty-four *regidores:* but the constitution of the cities had so degenerated, that these offices had become family estates; some of which were considered hereditary, and descended by the rule of primogeniture; some were farmed, and several united in one person. These regidores commonly appointed twelve sworn representatives of the people, or a number proportionate to the parishes.

The distinction of ranks was carefully observed in all the relations of public and private life. The nobility were divided into grandees, knights, and lieges; and their most essential privileges consisted in exemption from certain imposts, and from the jurisdiction of particular tribunals. The privileged orders had their own judges in the municipal constitutions, possessed an advocate-general in the superior courts, and could not be summoned before the subordinate offices of the inquisition, except by the especial command of the supreme tribunal. They frequently protested against the regulations of the government: but

since the accession of the house of Bourbon, their assumed or hereditary rights had been less respected. They still, however, retained the inferior tribunals: almost all the small towns and villages, with the exception of a few which are situated in the mountains or have purchased their exemption, are subject to the authority of some nobleman or city.

Since the ancient Partidas, and since the decree of the states at Toro in the year 1505, the administration of justice has been rather confounded than determined, by the double principles of the Roman code and of an infinite number of royal regulations. Here, as in all despotisms, the court exercised over the provinces an authority far less oppressive than that of the subordinate administrations and tribunals, and the abuses of the labyrinth of laws by the advocates, and the pride, the ignorance and avarice of the noble and gratuitous regidores.

The principal sources of the revenue are twelve. The subsidy, or alcavala, is a tax of a tenth penny upon the amount of all sales of whatsoever description. The collection of this tax, which is levied by an innumerable swarm of officers, whose business it is to pry into all transactions, is justly regarded as one of the sources of the universal corruption that prevails.

The court receives a fifth of all the silver, and a twentieth of all the gold, produced in America. The quantity of silver which comes from America to Europe is to the gold as twenty-two to one: this proportion, however, is not that of the relative commercial value of the two metals: the demand for silver is more considerable; and a larger quantity of this metal is consumed in the arts: the East Indies swallow it up by millions; and hence the relative value is reduced to about fourteen to one. Before the discovery of the new world, the proportion was as ten to one; but the silver mines have been very productive. There is reason to believe that the quantity of silver and gold annually imported into Cadiz and Lisbon, in all shapes, amounts to between fifty-four and sixty millions of florins, or about six millions of pounds sterling. Potosi itself, however, is no longer so productive as formerly: many propri-

etors of mines are contented with the profit arising from the use of their mills. It is common to allow the discoverer of a new vein to work it two hundred and forty-six feet in length, and half as much in breadth, free from duty; it is becoming continually more difficult to ventilate the mines, and to keep them clear of water, on account of their excessive depth; and only twenty-five tons of quicksilver are annually produced at the mines of Almadas. The interior commerce of the American provinces, together with that of Acapulco, affords half a million of piastres to the king: and as he exacts a mint tax of a real on every coined mark of metal, he derives from this source a revenue of one hundred and fifty thousand piastres in Mexico, and one a fourth part larger in Peru. Campomanes estimates the total revenue of the crown arising from the mines at thirty millions.

All the commodities which go from Europe to America are subject to a duty of something more than ten reals for every span which they measure in circumference, provided that their value bears a certain proportion to their bulk; and it is estimated that the imports amount to eleven millions. Foreign goods are subject to a duty *ad valorem* of 25*l. per cent.*: but this enormous impost only serves to encourage smuggling. The duty levied on all the goods which are exchanged between the ports of America and that of Cadiz, is supposed to yield seven hundred thousand piastres: and the customs, together with the alcavala collected on the continent of America, is valued at two millions and a half.

The commerce in tobacco is of equal importance to the royal treasury: all the merchants and dealers in that article are obliged to supply themselves from the great manufactory at Seville, and are allowed to make a profit of 10 *per cent.* The manufacture and commerce of this article furnishes employment to thirty-four thousand persons, and yields an income to the king of ninety millions of reals * de velho.

The tax on salt was raised about 21*d.* per hundred

* A real de velho is worth about twopence-halfpenny

weight by Don Carlos the Third, in order to defray the expense of making the roads of Barcelona, Valencia, Grenada and Cadiz.

The capitation tax levied on the native Americans yields two millions; and the duty on the negroes, 200,000.

The tax on paper, in America alone, yields 300,000 piastres; and that on playing-cards, in Mexico only, 70,000: and Mexico and Peru together, take pilgrimage-bulls to the amount of three millions and a half annually.

From the pulca, a favorite beverage of its American subjects, the court of Spain derives a revenue of 160,000 piastres; about 15,000 from the sale of ice; 500,000 from the herb of Paraguay; and 71,000 from Mexico alone, for gunpowder.

The produce of the post-office is estimated at 3,300,000 dollars de velho; and the export of wool, from Seville alone, yields ten millions of reals de velho to the royal treasury: to these sources of revenue must be added the tax on brandy, and the produce of the royal forests; as well as that of the confiscated estates of the jesuits, which is valued at 400,000 piastres.

The financial department consists of five chambers: that which takes cognizance of the affairs of America is called the grand royal council of the Indies. The imposts of every province are levied by the intendants; and the whole organization of this department was instituted by the president Orry, in the reign of Philip the Fifth. Ensenada and Carvajal, under that of Ferdinand the Sixth, were induced, partly by the splendid theory of the physiocratic system and partly by the partial confirmation afforded by experience in Arragon, to attempt to reduce the financial system to the utmost degree of simplicity: it was resolved to subject the country to an actual admeasurement; to enumerate the inhabitants, to estimate their property; and then to demand only one real from every 300. The provinces of Castile were measured, and a "junta of the single impost" had already been added to the financial council, when the ministers who came into office after the death of Ferdinand, abandoned the design. Don Carlos found the treasury extremely burdened with debts which had

been incurred partly to defray the expenses of war, and partly by the magnificence and prodigality with which every undertaking, whether useful or superfluous, is in this kingdom attended. The royal treasury, however, contained a considerable sum in ready money, and the annual revenue amounted to forty-seven millions of dollars de velho. The king set apart an annual sum for the redemption of the public debt.

The income of the eight archbishops and forty-eight bishops, was returned by themselves at 1,300,000 ducats: the cathedral chapters are not less opulent; more than 3,000 monasteries are also supported; and the less rigid institutions of the New World are possessed of extensive estates, capitals, and tithes. The simplicity of pious individuals, who purchase dispensations, is one principal source of the ecclesiastical revenues.

The military department was organized under the reign of Philip the Fifth. The king himself presided in the council of war. In the beginning of the American war, there were five commanders, fifty-five lieutenants general, and an equal number of maréchaux-de-camp; more than a hundred brigadiers, six inspectors general, forty war commissaries, and fifteen auditors. The king had his own regiment of guards, together with a brigade of carabineers, thirty-six regiments of foot, fourteen of horse, and eight of dragoons; a corps of engineers; the artillery, and some companies of cadets: there were five foundries of ordnance, a manufactory of arms at Toledo, and another for fire-arms at Guipuscoa. The invalids were divided into forty-six companies; there were forty-two regiments of country militia and 126 companies of city militia; some of which were usually kept encamped near Gibraltar, Oran, Ceuta, and Marsalquivir, and in the smaller presidencies. The foreign troops in the pay of Spain consisted of the Walloon guards, four regiments of Walloons, four of Swiss, and twelve of Italians. But scarcely any of the corps had their full complement; and 140 regiments contained in reality scarcely 100,000 men. The tactical system had been changed in some unimportant details. The military station was not honored; as the ranks were de-

based by the custom of introducing among them, smugglers, thieves and murderers. Desertion was punished by the martial law with death; but the officers preferred suffering the offender to lie in prison for a year; allowed his name to remain on the rolls, and by this means continued to receive his pay. The principal foundry for the artillery was in the most wretched condition, because the inspectors were induced by avarice to employ materials and workmen of the worst description.

The naval system is divided into the three departments of Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena. Ferdinand the Sixth left at his decease, forty-eight ships of the line. Don Carlos augmented their number; but this was rather an apparent than a real increase of their strength, for all the reports were exaggerated and the commands ill executed. Hence arose the misfortunes of the war of 1762, the miserable result of the siege of Algiers and the failure of the attack on Gibraltar. The deficiency consisted not in money, or in regiments, or in ships; but in that spirit which the Spaniards had so nobly displayed before the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of the inquisition.

## SECTION IV.

### NAPLES.

The kings of Sicily and Naples contrived for a long time to protect their subjects from the last mentioned curse; and the inquisitors never ventured to display the full effect of their fury in those dominions. The barons of Sicily and the people of Naples maintained some of their rights: despotism never dared utterly to oppress this lively nation, whose stormy passions frequently threatened the destruction of its oppressors, and obliged the court on various occasions to obey the voice of the piazza del popolo, while their territory was peculiarly exposed to the hazard of foreign invasion. The government stood frequently in need of subsidies; the taxes were distributed by the piazza; and every *arendamento* was carried to the chamber by those

persons to whom the levying of this impost had been entrusted. The military power of this state was supposed to be equal to that of Sardinia; but the soldiers were better paid and the troops superior in appearance. The population is estimated at four millions.

## SECTION V.

### SWITZERLAND.

After the states under the sway of the house of Bourbon, the Swiss confederates, who are the most ancient allies of that family, deserve to be next mentioned. The internal administration of the cantons was distinguished by intelligence, probity and vigilance; and their population and opulence increased without interruption. As they were equally destitute of a supreme head and of a permanent representation, they found it easy to avoid being entangled in the affairs of more powerful states. They dwelt without apprehension in the midst of jealous and powerful rivals; they had no idea of aggrandisement; and their wishes were confined to the object of remaining in their present condition. Accordingly, they enjoyed a more undisturbed course of prosperity than their brethren the Venetians and Hollanders had been able to obtain by their wars and negociations; and preserved more successfully their primitive equality and the simplictity of their manners, which became refined as the national character developed itself.

The renewal of the general alliance between the cantons and France, convinced all Europe that the latter kingdom was disposed to continue to support the confederates in the great political discussions of the continent; and that her frontier would henceforth be protected on the side of Switzerland. The Swiss, besides, furnished the king with men; the only article which they possess in superfluity: and the monarch supported the needy cantons by subsidies. The stipulations relative to the regiments were sep-

arated from the articles of alliance, and treated as a private affair.

The population of Switzerland amounts to about a million and a half; 580,000 of which belong to Zurich and Bern: about 38,000 persons serve in the foreign regiments, most of whom are enlisted for a term of four years: and it may safely be assumed that 25,000 of that number consist of native Swiss.

The natural instruments of despotism, a standing army, and the multiplication of taxes, were unknown in the cantons; the government of which owed its whole power to the sentiment of public prosperity and to the esteem and affection of the people. After the destruction indeed of public morality, the common opinion of their accumulated wealth, their well-known military spirit, and the situation of their country at the passes into more fertile provinces, might give even the cantons reasonable ground of apprehension for the continuance of their peaceful existence.

## SECTION VI.

### HOLLAND.

At the mouths of the Rhine, which takes its rise among the mountains of Switzerland, lies Holland: a country in which the Protestant interest for a century past had determined the public resolutions in favor of the policy of England; but where a powerful party now began to return to the ancient policy of the state, which was more favorable to the interests of France. This change of system was greatly promoted by commercial jealousy, by the haughtiness of the British government, and by the hatred generally entertained against the family of the stadtholder: and Joseph rendered it an almost indispensable measure by the destruction of the frontier fortifications which had formerly protected Holland.

The constitution of the greater part of the cities of Holland had for a long time been tending toward aristocracy.

The council of Amsterdam was formerly chosen by the community of citizens; who afterward allowed the members of that body to usurp their elective privileges: a permanent college was thus established, which perpetuated a system of political maxims, and preserved freedom, peace and order, by the temperate employment of its powers. The council of Amsterdam consisted of thirty-six members, with twelve burgomasters at their head: four were continually in office; three of whom were annually changed, while the fourth remained two years in his post, in order to assist his colleagues, in cases of sudden emergency, by his experience in the current business of the state. The burgomasters had the supreme direction of the financial department, and the disposal of certain offices: and the manner in which they discharged their offices qualified them in a greater or less degree for the higher dignities of the state. Next to them sat the nine syndics, seven of whom were chosen from among a number of fourteen annually proposed by the senate. This election belonged at different periods of the republic, sometimes to the stadtholdor and sometimes to the burgomasters. The syndics exercised the office of judges; and in civil affairs, an appeal lay from their decisions to the court of Holland, and from thence to the Land-council. The court of Holland, which had formerly been the tribunal of the counts of that province, and which now consisted of eight deputies from Holland and three from Zealand, took cognizance of feudal causes, the law processes of the nobility, and appeals: and the great Land-council of both these provinces, had succeeded to the post of the supreme tribunal, which, under the dukes of Burgundy, had held its sittings at Mecklin. In this country, as in the towns of Switzerland, appeals related only to petty disputes concerning property, and not to cases affecting the life of an accused person, which could only be forfeited under circumstances of great importance and upon the clearest evidence. The states of Holland and West Friesland consisted of about ten deputies of the nobility; and of the representatives of eighteen towns, twelve of whom received their seats and votes from the first William of Orange,

who wished to attach those bodies by their interests, to his cause and to that of the revolution. The prevalent disposition among the nobility, was an attachment to the house of Orange; but they possessed conjointly only one vote: they were the least wealthy class; and hence the administration of the confiscated ecclesiastical estates, and other offices, were to them objects of desire. These states elected a pensionary councillor, who exercised the functions of president, and could prevent the execution of their resolutions by his veto. In the intervals of the annual assemblies of the states, a commission held two sessions; and in extraordinary contingencies its sittings were permanent. This body was divided into two chambers: that of South Holland consisted of a deputy of the nobility whose office was triennial, of eight triennial representatives of the great cities, and of one annual representative of the smaller towns: that of North Holland, of seven deputies from the cities. All matters were so arranged, that every district of the whole country was provided with a representative well instructed in its own interest.

In Zealand the whole body of the nobility was represented by the prince of Orange: six of the cities sent deputies to the states-general; and in two of these places the magistracy was nominated by the prince.

Guelders, which was a small federal republic forming a single member of the greater union, contained the towns of Arnheim, Zütphen, and Nimuegen, the deputies of which held an assembly of the states twice in the year. This province contained a numerous and powerful nobility.

In the states of Utrecht, the nobility consisted of temporal and those denominated spiritual lords: but the latter were in reality laymen, although they represented the estates belonging to the cathedral chapter. Five cities sent deputies to the assembly of these states; and those of Utrecht, which was the most considerable town of the province, had the power of opposing the resolutions of all the rest.

Friesland consisted of three districts, which were sub-

divided into thirty bailiwicks: the land proprietors of the confederate villages assembled in all parts of the country, and elected one nobleman and one opulent and respectable free commoner; and the eleven cities, which together constitute the fourth district of the province, made a similar appointment. The plenipotentiaries thus elected, disposed of all the offices of state: they appointed three persons out of each district as the members of a court of justice, which had the absolute decision of all criminal causes, and decided the appeals from the courts of the bailiffs in civil causes.

A similar constitution existed in Gröningen, which was also a part of ancient Friesland.

In Overyssel, the states consisted of the deputies of the three cities, and of the possessors of all such noble estates as were worth not less than twenty-five thousand florins.

All the seven provinces formed the assembly of the states-general and the council of state. The states-general possessed the dignity of representation and the duty of superintendence; although, as it could deliberate, but could not resolve, it possessed, properly so called, no power; and the supreme authority resided in the magistracy of every province and city. The council of state, to which the executive power was confided, consisted of three deputies from Holland; the same number from Gröningen, Overyssel, and Utrecht; two from Zealand, and as many from Guelders and Friesland. This assembly had the superintendence of the military department, and administered the affairs of the Dutch Netherlands: but, on the other hand, the affairs of the barriers belonged to the states-general; because this was not so properly a possession, as a measure of precaution for the security of the commonwealth.

The most important affairs thus depended on the election of the magistracies of the town; which, for this reason, was conferred in times of danger on the hereditary stadtholders.

The stadtholder must be a protestant of the reformed religion: if that dignity should descend to a female, the choice of her husband shall be made by the states-general;

but shall in no case fall on a king or an electoral prince, or on any other than a protestant of the reformed church. A widow who should hold the office of regent during the minority of her son, was not allowed to marry a second time.

The court of France, which was desirous of rendering its frontier on this side as secure as on that of Switzerland, and of making as good use of the Dutch fleet as of the Swiss peasants, was always opposed to the stadtholder: and England, for that very reason, was constantly attached to his interests. The republic was influenced sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, according to the alternate success of the different factions. Switzerland, from its situation, may remain for a long time without exciting much attention: but Holland lies on the ocean; it had accumulated great wealth; it domineered in both the Indies, and possessed the Cape of Good Hope, the key of the East.

The barrier treaty, according to which the frontiers were to remain unalterable, seemed to promise a more tranquil state of affairs: hence the land forces were reduced to a state barely sufficient for the occupation of the barrier; and the fleet was employed only in convoying the East Indian fleets.

The number and force of the ships to be equipped was determined by the states-general; the land forces chiefly by the council of state: the admiralty college at Amsterdam contributed a third of the expense, and the remainder was defrayed by the other four admiralties. These colleges had the superintendence of the arsenals and docks: the armament and provisioning of the ships was managed by the captains. At the approach of the American war, in the course of which the republic became involved in a contest with England, she equipped fourteen ships of the line and eighteen frigates, which were manned by 7,920 seamen, and carried 1,280 pieces of cannon, and which in fourteen months occasioned an expenditure of about four hundred thousand florins.

But the chief reputation of Holland, like that of Switzerland, is to be found less in her external relations than in

her internal arrangements. In a country not twice as extensive as the territory of Bern; which requires more labor of men for the preservation of the dikes, on which its existence depends, than its whole produce is able to support; none of whose harbors are excellent, and whose coasts, the Texel and the Zuydersee, are dangerous of navigation; two millions of inhabitants gain their subsistence by persevering industry and good management, by which they rendered their country, for a long time, the richest district in Europe. This nation created the territory which it inhabits; rendered it flourishing, and embellished it with noble productions of art. Commerce, by giving rapidity to the circulation of money, afforded facilities to the enterprises of individuals; and the state was able to borrow as much money as it required at an interest of 2 *per cent.*, and private persons at 3 *per cent.* The affairs of the East India company were regarded as the concern of the state, while their property was as scrupulously respected as if it had belonged to an individual citizen: this company, for a long time, made an income of 12,700,000 florins, laid by two millions annually, and, after dividing the remainder, deposited 225,000 florins as a reserve against unforeseen contingencies.

All their prosperity was the effect of good morals, as all their laws were founded on the system of manners necessary among a commercial people, which regards the idle man as the only object of contempt, and endeavors above all things to maintain the reputation of the products of industry. Each city devoted itself chiefly to the pursuit of one branch of commerce, which it conducted in the utmost perfection: the spices of Asia came to Holland, the ancient inhabitants of which subsisted on vegetables and fish: they sold the silks of Persia, and clothed themselves in woollen: they exported the beautiful productions of their looms, and used the cloths of England, which at that period were coarser than their own.

Censure has been bestowed on the distribution of the taxes; because an impost was laid, among other things, on bread; in consequence of which, several branches of manufacture were destroyed. Even the duty on tea has

been blamed, because that article had been rendered a necessary of life by habit; and this tax has been supposed to have been in a considerable degree the cause of the enormous enhancement of the price of labor, which, however, in so rich a country, was inevitable. Turf and beer were also taxed. The theory of political economy has made little or no objection against the tax of the fortieth penny on the sale of estates and ships; against the house tax, the duty on collateral inheritances, the taxes on servants, horses and carriages, and on legal compacts. The necessities of the state demanded incredible sums from this country; which, although its uncommonly crowded population is not a third part so great as that of England, paid taxes to the amount of 5,250,000*l.* sterling.

This state of affairs, however, could not possibly subsist without the most injurious consequences to the commerce of the nation; which was at length almost entirely confined to the transfer of the productions of other countries: a kind of trade peculiarly exposed to contingencies, and especially to the hazards of war. The most wealthy of the merchants became discontented with an administration which involved them in such expensive contests: and nothing but the love of their country, in which they had the privilege of taking part in public affairs, prevented them from seeking a more prosperous place of residence. The great burden of taxation, and the multitude and expensiveness of their indispensable wants, compelled the Dutch to pay the closest attention even to the smallest profits: their expenditure in their wars, their excellent institutions for the poor, and their well-paid instructers, are sufficient proofs that they knew how to make a noble use of their gains.

A. D. 1781. In the naval engagement of the Doggersbank, the world saw with astonishment their display of national honor and patriotism: but it was altogether impossible that the Dutch, whose army now contained only twenty-eight thousand men who had never seen fire, together with nine thousand Swiss and Germans, and a fleet of only twenty ships, should prosecute a war against the power of Great Britain, with the same success as when

they had ten ships of the line more than the English, and when the heroes of the house of Orange fought at the head of their armies, with the military prowess that distinguished them, in the cause of liberty.

A great ferment took place in the interior: the wealthy and republican citizens saw, with indignation, that the affairs of the state were conducted by the nobility, who were attached to the Orange party, and were, for the most part, involved in debt; and discontent loosened the ties of confidence, which had hitherto held together the inhabitants of the cities and those of the country in the different provinces, as well as the whole commonwealth of Holland: this dissatisfaction, however, proved, that the love of liberty was not extinguished; and rendered it probable that, if this nation were destined to fall under a foreign yoke, the most noble part of the community would follow the example given by the Phoceans, (as their ancestors designed to do on the invasion of their country by Lewis the Fourteenth,) and that their territory, the greatest monument of human labor, would become the prey of the waves.

## SECTION VII.

### PORTUGAL.

Portugal, which like Holland had continued for a long time to maintain the most intimate connection with Great Britain, adhered more implicitly to the system prescribed by the court of St. James, and furnished a perfect contrast with the republic of which we have just spoken.

A. D. 1777. King Joseph, whose last cause of grief was that he had not time to fulfil a vow which he had made for the building of a church, was now dead, and had been succeeded by his daughter Maria, who was married to his brother Don Pedro the Third. The marquis of Pombal, an old man who had governed Portugal during so many years with equivocal reputation, was condemned and removed from his office without any satis-

factory explanation of the cause of his disgrace. In the beginning of the American quarrel, Portugal declared herself on the side of the family compact of the Bourbons, and availed herself of the advantages which the competition of the Americans bestowed on the markets of Europe; but she was destitute of the necessary power for any important enterprise.

The nobles had been enfeebled by the cruelties practised by Pombal, and by the resumption of the crown lands; in return for which they had received only empty titles of honor. The Cocceian theory, that kings are merely the administrators of the royal domains; and that they may, on that pretence, resume all such estates, however great the distance of time at which they were alienated, had shaken the foundations of the titles to landed property in many monarchies during the last century.

Pombal had also circumscribed the power of the inquisition in so great a degree, that the holy office could now neither imprison any person under pretence of Jewish or heretical opinions for a longer period than four days, nor cause any person to be put to death, without the royal consent. The vivacity of the national character, and the intercourse of the people with the great number of foreigners who entered the Tagus, greatly facilitated the contest carried on by this minister against the despotism of the hierarchy: and the court of Rome could not venture to offer any vigorous opposition to his measures; because the Portuguese clergy were no longer headed by an archbishop of Braga, but by a patriarch, who might be considered as a domestic pope. Don John the Fifth had expended great sums in procuring the establishment of this dignity; which was so intimately connected with the court chapel, that the interest of the patriarch coincided in all respects with that of the king.

The catholic countries in general came into a situation in which the monarchy found it easy to overthrow the rival despotism of the hierarchy: but the manner of effecting this revolution gave birth to a spirit of independence that imparted to public opinion a vigor which had for a long time been a stranger to such countries. The

circumstance the most unfavorable to the interests of those who exercised the supreme power, was, that this revolution in the manner of thinking produced a powerful effect on the middle classes of society, long before the governments perceived the necessity of conforming themselves to its spirit: they considered these discussions as fruitlessly beating the air; while they were in reality undermining the foundations of their power.

In Portugal, the fifteen bishoprics had from a very early period been subject to the nomination of the court; which was accustomed to reserve a fourth part of their revenues, and to expend it in pensions.

The department of the secretaries of state distributed these pensions, disposed of offices, determined the privileges of the navigators, prepared all the business which came before the council of state, and presented the dispatches to the king for his signature. This cabinet commonly consisted of three secretaries of state; but the supreme direction was usually confided to one of their number.

The chamber of appeals of the palace was at the head of the judicial department. The same body proposed new laws, deliberated on all projects of that description, furnished the authentic expositions of those already in existence, dispensed with their operation, and watched over their execution: it had two subordinate tribunals of appeal at Lisbon and Oporto; the latter of which was dependent on the former, with regard to the revision of important causes. The powers of the inferior tribunals were exercised by the city magistrates, noble lords of courts; and on the crown estates, by the royal judges: the latter also conducted the criminal processes in the courts of the ecclesiastical lords.

The exertions made by count William of the Lippe-Bückeburg in the military department of Portugal, were worthy of the distinguished talents, the zeal and the virtues of that commander: and though he was unable to infuse his spirit into the court, the Portuguese army was formed in a manner somewhat superior to that of Spain,

chiefly by means of the foreign officers engaged in the service.

The revenue arising from the crown lands, since the revocation of the grants, was considerable. The customs which had from ancient times belonged to the chiefs of the commonwealth, both as the produce of the roads and havens, and as the means of maintaining those conveniences in order, amounted to 23 *per cent.* on foreign commodities imported, and 4 *per cent.* on their transit. The land-tax was rendered perpetual, and new duties were imposed on consumption. The kings of Portugal derive an income of no inconsiderable magnitude, as grand-masters of the orders. Superstition was another fruitful source of revenue: as certificates of indulgence might be purchased for eight pounds, which, during six months, were equally valid with the absolution of a Roman year of jubilee; and for another sum, usurers were allowed to purchase exemption from the duty of restitution; those whose personal attractions were a source of profit, obtained forgiveness of their sins for an eighth part of their receipts, or, when they had been unusually successful, for a tenth; the court had always bulls to sell for the repose of souls; and finally, all the property belonging to the victims of the holy inquisition reverted to the crown. The tax on the gold of Brazil, amounting to one-fifth *per cent.*, and the monopoly of diamonds and tobacco, were, however, more important sources of revenue. The silver and gold imported into Lisbon was estimated at 2,250,000 pounds sterling.

This kingdom is about three times as extensive as the United Netherlands, and contains scarcely an equal number of inhabitants; agriculture is practised in an extremely defective manner, and no care is taken to make public roads through the mountains. The islands of St. Michael and Madeira are each reckoned to contain fifty thousand inhabitants; and Brazil, six hundred thousand. The latter country, which possesses a fertile soil and a happy climate, is less oppressed than the other provinces; because the settlements are dispersed over the surface

of that extensive district, and therefore less immediately under the inspection of the avaricious subordinate officers.

## SECTION VIII.

### THE COURT OF TURIN.

The court of Turin, which usually declared itself on that side which afforded the best prospect of advantage, was now compelled, by the alliance between France and Austria, to remain inactive.

Charles Emanuel had raised his revenue to the amount of nineteen millions of Piedmontese pounds: this sum included the extraordinary imposts, as well as the usual taxes on salt, tobacco, stamped papers and powder. The tolls constituted another, and owing to the situation of these territories a very important branch, of the revenue. Piedmont contributed two millions and a half to the *taille*, Savoy somewhat above a million, and Montserrat 220,000 pounds: the valley of Aoste paid a voluntary contribution in lieu of this tax; and Oneglia a fixed subsidy. The monopoly of salt furnished the principal income of the province of Tarantaise.

The expenditure was just equal to the average amount of the revenue; and the extraordinary expenses of war were defrayed by subsidies, loans and certain anticipations. The public debt was diminished by economical management to four millions.

The population in the royal territories situated on the continent, was estimated at 2,700,000.

The revenue of the island of Sardinia was hardly equal to the maintenance of its defensive institutions and of its administration. Sixty-four towers, four of which were supported by the king himself, protected the coasts and smaller islands. In the interior, whole districts were almost deserted, the mountains inhabited by barbarians, and the whole land involved in the darkness of superstition.

## SECTION IX.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

We are now come, in the course of our comparison of the states of Europe, to that nation which, at sea, balanced the whole power of the house of Bourbon. In so brief a survey, what can we say of the English constitution, that Montesquieu has not said, in the two celebrated chapters which contain the whole spirit of his spirit of laws? These are the results of the history of this country, and the key to the events which have happened since his time.

The laws of England, as it is universally known, are so independent of the executive power, that the king can neither abolish the parliament permanently, nor even temporarily, nor can he interrupt any complaint which is brought before that assembly. He can neither levy any tax, nor maintain a military force in time of peace, without consent of parliament: he can neither arm his catholic subjects, nor forbid the use of weapons to the protestants; and he is not permitted to take possession of the estates of the church of England, under pretence of arbitration. No parliament can sit more than seven years; nor can the king delay to summon that assembly for a longer period than three years. According to the spirit of the laws, both electors and candidates must be free men, and must possess a certain share of property, in order to secure their independence: but the passions have invented a variety of methods of frustrating the intention of these regulations.

The peers having long ceased to be the representatives of the baronies, their privileges are now of a personal nature. They constitute a permanent senate; and have on that account the right of entering a written protest on the records of the house; and for the same reason, the lord chancellor, who is their speaker, has his own vote. All financial bills originate in the house of commons, and the peers may reject them *in toto*, but are not allowed to make any alterations in their contents. If the death of the king

should happen during a period in which no parliament were in existence, the members of the last parliament would resume their functions, and would retain them during the space of six months.

The land-tax supplies the place of the imposts, which were formerly raised from every acre of arable land, and from the towns. This tax is levied by commissioners, who were originally appointed from among the members of parliament; but of later times from the most distinguished individuals in each district: its earliest register is dated in the year 1692. It is paid by the tenant: but as the amount of the assessment depends on that of the rent, it falls in reality on the landlord. This tax, which is recommended both by its definite character and its moderation, was paid seventy-two times before the accession of the present king: thrice at the rate of one shilling; twenty-two times at two; fourteen times at three; and thirty-three times at four shillings in the pound rental: every shilling yields half a million of pounds sterling.

The hearth-tax excited the displeasure of the people, because it gave occasion to house-searching; and was therefore exchanged for a house-tax, first of two, and afterwards of three shillings for every house in England, and one shilling in Scotland: and an additional charge of one shilling for every house containing six windows, and of two shillings on each house with twenty-five windows.

During the seven years' war, a shilling in the pound was deducted from all pensions and salaries: but this tax was equally disagreeable to poverty and power, to favoritism and negligence, and was therefore repealed.

The system of excise, which is a tax on consumption, is a Dutch invention: it was adopted by the long parliament which dethroned Charles the First, and was confirmed under the reign of Charles the Second. This impost has since been many times extended to other articles; its amount has been increased, and the system by which it is collected, improved. It has uniformly been the object of the ministry, to render this tax as productive and as little disagreeable as possible; and to collect it

with the utmost attention to accuracy and equity: the augmentation of price caused by this tax, is ordinarily confounded with the price of the goods; and it is on that account, by far the least burdensome impost in appearance. In the year 1772, it produced 3,800,000 pounds sterling.

In the reign of William the Third, a tax of three shillings and four-pence was imposed on every bushel of salt: under Anne, this impost was transferred to the excise; and since the time of George the Second it has been rendered perpetual. Stamp duties are imposed on contracts, records, playing-cards, newspapers, advertisements, and almanacks; and they vary according to the value of the instrument, from sixpence to ten pounds sterling.

The customs, which supply the place of the old and new subsidies, owing to the prodigious increase of manufactures and commerce, already amounted to two millions and a half. A. D. 1754. The bounties granted on the exportation of some articles and the drawbacks on others, are deducted from the above sum: and the witty remark of Swift, that in the language of the custom-house, twice two sometimes make one, is not without foundation. In fact, the exports are increased both by vanity and speculation; and the high rate of the customs is a real bounty on smuggling.

Little can be said respecting the produce of the crown lands: as William the Third rewarded his adherents with very long leases of these domains. This prince had a civil list of 700,000 pounds; arising from the customs, the excise, the courts, the post-office, a tax upon fermented liquors, and a contribution from the commons. Queen Anne was contented with a similar sum: and George the First contrived to save out of this amount 23,000 pounds, which he bestowed on his natural daughter, Melusina von Schulenburg. The sources from which the civil list was supplied, were so productive under the reign of George the Second, that it frequently amounted to a million: and this king, notwithstanding the expenses occasioned by his love of magnificence, his numerous journies and children, and the countess of Yarmouth, left at his death a property amount-

ing to 1,700,000 pounds. George the Third gave up the funds of the civil list; in lieu of which the parliament allotted him a fixed income of 800,000 pounds. He also enjoys a revenue arising from Wales and Cornwall, and has besides an income from West Indian property at his own disposal. The parliament has twice within twenty years discharged debts of the civil list, amounting to upwards of a million.

The army is at the disposal of the king; but it receives its laws and its subsistence from the parliament. The king, however, issues military ordinances at his own discretion, and appoints military tribunals; but the martial law is enacted by the legislative body. The parliament bestows rewards on meritorious commanders; but such as are guilty of misconduct, are liable to the forfeiture of honor and even of life, by the sentence of a court-martial.

In the glorious period of the seven years' war, Great Britain maintained 337,000 men in its pay; and possessed sixty-one ships of the line and 353 smaller vessels of war. After the conclusion of the peace of 1763, the land forces were limited to 40,000 men. The resources of military talents have never been more successfully applied by any modern people, than by the Britons during that contest: so much care was taken to provide for all the wants of the soldiery, that the ordinary mortality among the wounded was not more than one in twenty; and out of 14,000 men who were employed in the year 1760, in cruizing in the bay of Biscay, scarcely twenty were attacked by disease. The inventions even of foreigners, were nobly rewarded by the British parliament.

The spirit of the nation produced such exertions, that after three unsuccessful or fruitless campaigns, its perseverance was rewarded with twelve victories; by which it gained the distant province of Canada, twenty-five islands, nine fortified towns, forty forts, a hundred vessels of war, and a booty of the value of ten millions sterling.

The same spirit which, since the restoration of their ancient freedom had animated the Britons, afforded the astonishing spectacle of a nation, which, although reduced to

the brink of ruin, amidst the desertion of its colonies, the commotions of Ireland, and the tumults of faction; although groaning under the burden of an enormous taxation, destitute of allies and without any assistance, withstood the united power of the house of Bourbon, and of Holland its ancient confederate.

How lofty an eminence would this nation attain, if, amidst the treasures of plundered Hindostan and the corruptions of avarice, the spirit of its laws could remain sufficiently powerful to render moderation and equity the foundations of its political system.

## SECTION X.

### AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA.

The most powerful of the states which have hitherto occupied our attention, have derived their advantages from their circumstances with respect to the industry of their inhabitants, or their naval power, and the freedom of their civil institutions, which allowed considerable liberty of speech if not of action, or at least the opinion of such freedom. These resources do not exist in an equal degree among the monarchies situated in the interior of Europe; whose power rather depends upon their military force. Agriculture and the numerical amount of the population, are the chief objects of solicitude with the latter. But even in these countries, the real power of the nation lies rather in its intellectual energy than in its physical strength: for the latter may be overcome by a superior force; while the former finds resources in adversity, and shines with increased splendor amidst misfortunes.

Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, laid the foundation of the power of Prussia. Peter the Great infused into the Russians the consciousness of their own strength; which was displayed by Anne, Elizabeth, and Catharine, both in Europe and Asia. These examples produced their natural effect, under the reigns of Theresa and Joseph, on the spirit of the Austrian administration.

Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, at his accession to the throne, had only 2,200,000 subjects and a revenue of scarcely fifty-six millions of French livres: his subjects now amount to six millions; he has an army of 250,000 veteran soldiers, and a revenue of ninety millions: he has greatly augmented the opulence of his provinces; and governs a state full of the spirit of enterprise and of order, with great and continually increasing glory. His power, like his eye, is firm, full of confidence and animation; his government is the despotism of a father, severe only to his idle children. His regularity and dexterity found means to relieve his provinces, even during war, from the pressure of extraordinary taxation; and during peace he afforded pecuniary assistance, free of interest, to every necessary and useful undertaking. He never raised the land-tax: instead of which he preferred to increase the taxes upon consumption which he might have diminished, and for which he might have substituted internal imposts. At the conclusion of so many wars as he has carried on, the population even of his hereditary dominions, has doubled its number; and the peasants are not poorer than in many countries of greater natural fertility. Scarcely more than two-fifths of the army consists of peasants; and this portion is compelled to perform its military duty only for a few weeks in succession. His attention, and the encouragement which he has bestowed on the most important objects, on agriculture and the manufacture of articles of indispensable necessity, have produced such effects, that notwithstanding the complaints of interested persons, the annual balance of trade was two millions and a half in favor of Prussia; the credit of the paper currency was complete, and the bank paid interest for the sums deposited, at the rate of not more than two and a half *per cent.*

The excellence of Frederick's military tactics consisted not so much in those details which have been universally imitated, as in the almost inconceivable simplicity of the principles which are the foundation of the most rapid and accurate evolutions. The army, instead of being the ultimate object of his care, is only the means by which war is to be avoided, or the instrument by which it is to be con-

ducted with rapidity aud effect. War does not exhaust his country, but puts fifty-two millions of its revenues into circulation.

But the most important part of the greatness of Frederick lies in matters which are hardly perceptible to foreigners: and he is remarkably distinguished from the common herd of heroes in this respect, "that the nearer the point from which he is contemplated, the more minute the inspection to which he is subjected, the greater he appears."

The court of Vienna for a long time contemplated the progress of the internal administration of other powers, without any apparent imitation of their measures. In the enjoyment of the most exalted dignity and possessing the most fertile provinces, it was slower in perceiving the defects of its policy than those governments to which exertion was a matter of necessity. But the unexpected appearance of the power of Frederick communicated an electric shock even to this torpid body: and Maria Theresa, who was guided by the councils of Kaunitz in her general policy as well as in the foreign department, whose financial concerns were directed by Haugwitz, and whose military proceedings were entrusted to Traun, Dauhn, Lichtenstein, Laudohn, and Lascy; infused a new animation into the power of Austria, and opened to the eyes of Joseph the most brilliant prospects, of power capable of complete developement, of the greatest reputation, and of the most decisive influence in the political affairs of Europe. In the last year of the life of his illustrious mother, the subjects of his monarchy amounted to 19½ millions, the revenue to 215 millions of French livres, and the army to 275,000 men. The countries subject to the house of Austria were accustomed to a government mild and desirous of improvement, and susceptible of a high degree of civilization: they contained many sources of prosperity which had hitherto been suffered to remain unimproved; the state of the military system was so good, that the army, which was superior to that of France with regard both to numbers and excellence, was not more than two-thirds as expensive; and though the public debt amounted to about 160 mil-

lions, the state possessed a property, in the ecclesiastical domains, which was estimated at 300 millions.

Austria was besides in amicable relations with Russia, and could therefore have nothing to dread from Prussia; a state which was scarcely a third part as powerful as itself, and which was not always to be directed by a monarch who, like Frederick, should be capable of raising its importance to the utmost pitch. There was still less ground for apprehension on the side of the house of Bourbon: as an alliance subsisted between Austria and the French, whose queen, the daughter of Maria Theresa, was adored by that gallant people on account of her wit, her gentleness and beauty. The divan seemed disposed rather to submit to almost any terms, than to endanger its decaying power in a contest with Joseph: the hierarchy trembled at the spirit which he manifested, and would have accepted a compromise on any terms. The republics and the smaller princes of the empire were desirous of remaining in obscurity, or at most of being treated with the respect which a stronger power ought to manifest towards its inferiors.

The Russian empire contains a surface of 320,000 square miles, and its inhabitants amount to thirty millions: the revenue is estimated at sixty-four millions of roubles; it is said that the complete military force in time of war consists of 300,000 men, and that the Cossacks, Armenians, Grusinians, Kirgisians, Calmucks, Carakalpaks, and other predatory hordes, famed for the rapidity of their military operations, amount to 260,000. The exports and imports appear to be nearly balanced, and to amount to about eight millions of roubles. The European commerce of this empire is reckoned ten times as valuable as the Asiatic, and the trade of Petersburg is supposed to be ten times as active as that of Archangel. The intercourse with England is the most important, because it puts a great quantity of money into circulation: that with France drew specie away from Russia; and the import of Russian produce into France was discouraged.

More than a third part of the mass of regular soldiery which is employed in coercing the population of Europe

and preserving order, belongs to these three powers: in tactics and military discipline their armies are supposed to be superior to those of all other nations; when united, no power is capable of giving them serious cause of alarm; in war their most formidable enemies exist in each other; in their internal administration they endeavor to raise the greatest possible power on the foundation of national opulence. Under the governments of Frederick and of Joseph, no room is allowed for the intrigues either of priests or of courtiers. Public opinion has no influence on the policy of these courts; which are aware that authors, for the greater part, have the faculty of seeing only what their own interest leads them to observe, and the talent of placing the characters of the princes by whom they are rewarded, in such a light as is most agreeable to their august patrons; while the splendor of their eloquence serves only to dazzle the multitude.

## SECTION XI.

### THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

We have already treated of the maritime powers, and of the state of exhaustion to which they had reduced themselves by their own exertions, as well as of the great military nations of Europe: it now remains that we consider those smaller states, to which they are objects of continual apprehension.

The ancient body of the German empire continues to be held together, in appearance, by the formularies of the golden bull, the regulations of the imperial elective compacts, the peace of Westphalia, the decrees of the diet, the ordinations of the imperial tribunals, and the relics of the feudal system.

We have given an account of the privileges of the electors in the fifteenth book. All the princes of the empire who possess territories which were represented in the council of princes at the diet of 1582, have also at this day a seat and vote in that assembly, either in person or by their

deputies. The counts, prelates and cities do not vote individually, but by their benches. The electors, princes and cities, constitute three colleges: the protestant states form a separate body, of which the elector of Saxony, although himself a catholic, is the head; because that office is permanently attached to the governing family of the electorate. The directorship of the collective diet is vested in the archbishop of Mayence. The emperor appoints one of the princes as principal commissary, and nominates some jurist, well versed in the laws of the empire, as his colleague.

The diet is opened by an imperial proposition: decrees of the court, which are within the province of the principal commission, representations, proposals, references of the states, and notes from the powers, are laid before the imperial directors of the arch-chancery, who issue a *dictatur*, proceed to adopt a resolution, to open the protocol, to collect the votes, and to frame a corresponding decree, which is finally laid before the emperor for his acceptance. Each college assembles separately: the comitial deputies have no discretional vote or powers, but on all occasions receive positive instructions from their respective courts. All differences of opinion in the colleges are recorded in the judgment, in case the dissidents require it. The emperor may either ratify or reject this judgment as he thinks fit: but when the colleges are divided in their opinions, the states will not allow him to exercise the privilege of deciding between them.

Business of an important and complicated or secret nature, may be conducted or prepared by a commission appointed by the empire: but there still exist a number of undecided judicial questions relating to its formation.

In affairs which can in any manner be construed to relate to religion, or in relation to which the states do not choose to be considered as an united body, either the parties separate themselves, or each individual insists upon his privileges; by which means the progress of the public business is totally impeded. Protests, counterpleas, interlocutions, secessions and endless contests about forms, complete the confusion; and if the states were as equal to each

other in power as the nobles of Poland, the decency and order of the proceedings would be not greater than at Warsaw. The body politic of Germany owes its mode of existence to the abuses and irregularities which, for reasons of policy, come to the assistance of its imperfect legislation, and which might as easily dissolve the whole structure.

The constitution of the circles is a representation in miniature of that of the empire. This constitution originally prevailed in every sovereignty; where the concurrence of the states of the country, consisting of prelates, knights and citizens, was necessary to the authority of the prince on all important occasions. But since the introduction of standing armies, the place of these members of the community has been generally filled by the more simple forms of military despotism: thus by the perpetual frustrating of references to the imperial tribunals and to the supreme head of the empire, by the rejection of these applications, and by the execution of the decrees of the imperial courts, the people are becoming more and more helpless in every succeeding age; while against such of this hapless class as are stigmatized with the appellation of rebels, every petty tyrant is at full liberty to exercise his caprice and his power without control or question.

The dukedom of Bavaria is computed to contain 1,180,000 inhabitants: the Palatinate of the Rhine, the most industrious of whose citizens have been compelled to emigrate to America by religious persecution, and by other errors in the policy of its completely despotic government, contains not more than 280,000; and those of Juliers and Berg are estimated at 260,000. The whole revenue of the elector may amount to nine or ten millions of florins: that of Bavaria is computed at five, or including the salt works at six; that of the Palatinate at 1,700,000; and that of the Westphalian territories at 1,500,000. The surface of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate contains seven hundred and twenty-nine; that of the other territories two hundred and forty square miles. The example of the neighboring Dutch, and the influence of political considerations, (which prevented the exercise of so much oppression in a country to which Brandenburg had claims,) permitted and

excited the most active exertions of industry in the countries of Juliers and Berg. The palatinates groaned under the keepers of the rolls; and Bavaria continued to suffer under all the prejudices of the middle ages. The treasuries of both countries were overwhelmed with debts incurred by prodigality and bad administration: Bavaria had to pay twenty-five millions of annual interest; and had in return the satisfaction of resounding the incessant praises of rich favorites, women, ministers, and counsellors. This extraordinary expenditure was not occasioned by any disproportionate exertion of the powers of the country for the purpose of raising a formidable military force: for the army of the Palatinate consisted of not more than five thousand five hundred men, although that state had eleven generals in its pay: the Bavarian troops amounted to eighteen thousand men, who were distributed in thirty regiments; but this state had some field-marshals-general in commission, and the corps of officers constituted nearly a fourth of the whole army; and it was thought necessary, on account of a few vessels on the Rhine, to establish an admiralty. The income of the convents in Bavaria is estimated at two millions.

The electoral territories of Saxony are of nearly equal extent with those of Bavaria. But while the latter country contains only one great and thirty-nine smaller cities, the former contains eighteen of great or considerable magnitude, two hundred and six of moderate size, and two millions two hundred thousand inhabitants. The princes who bore the name of Frederick Augustus, left the country burthened with a debt of twenty-six millions of rix-dollars: but the excellent arrangements of the states, and the regularity of the ruling prince, enabled the electorate to diminish its debt by at least 1,200,000 annually; and with the remaining 6,200,000 furnished by the revenue, to maintain a suitable court, a well-organized government, and a military force proportionate to the circumstances of the country. The army was high-spirited, and brilliant in its appearance, and was augmented in proportion to the gradual reduction of the debt, until its numbers amounted to 25,000. The soil of the electorate is not uniformly fertile,

and its situation between Austria and Prussia, together with the profusion of Frederick Augustus the First and of Brühl, had subjected the inhabitants to numerous miseries: but they surmounted all their difficulties, restored their country to prosperity by their admirable industry and good management, and distinguished themselves above all the other nations of Germany in the cultivation of the sciences, and the refinement of their language and manners.

The electoral territories of Brunswick are, generally speaking, of inferior quality with regard to natural fertility; but are among the number of those in which the paternal care of the government has done much to compensate for the penury of nature. Since the absence of the reigning family, the states of the country maintain an authority which, in the most important particulars, is beneficially exerted; and the degree of freedom which is enjoyed, preserves among the inhabitants an attachment to their country. The troops, which are sufficiently paid, courageous and well commanded, amount to 20,000; a number which is not unreasonably great in proportion to a population of 700,000. The inhabitants are more numerous than could be expected in a country of which extensive districts consist of irreclaimable heath; and which, if it were not for the annual million produced by the mines in the Hartz, would with great difficulty furnish a revenue of 4,800,000 florins.

The electorate of Mayence, comprising a surface of 125 square miles, contains 320,000 inhabitants, and possesses a revenue, arising from customs and from territorial imposts, of 1,500,000 florins. It maintains some thousands of troops; and, as is usual in the armies of such states, a great number of generals.

The income of the elector of Treves is scarcely one-third as large as that of the last-mentioned prince; and about 210,000 florins of his revenue are furnished by Augsburg and Ellwangen.

The electorate of Cologne is so situated, with respect to Holland and Westphalia, that it is capable of becoming a state of political importance. Its revenue, including its receipts from Münster, is estimated at 1,200,000 florins.

The subjects of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who is also count of Hanau, may amount to nearly 500,000; and his revenue to 3,000,000. Waldeck is his fief, and is still subject to a number of mortgages for pecuniary loans. He has also the prospect of inheriting, at some future time, that part of the county of Schaumburg which still belongs to the counts and noble lords of the Lippe.

The last-mentioned prince, if it had not been for the division of territory made by Philip the Magnanimous, in the spirit of the 16th century, would still have possessed the income derived from Hesse-Homburg, amounting to 100,000 rix-dollars, as well as that of Hesse-Darmstadt. The landgrave of this territory has a revenue of 1,150,000 florins, with which he maintains his court, and 6,000 well disciplined troops. But the landgrave Maurice still further weakened the Cassel branch of the family, in order to furnish a younger son with a court and government at Rheinfels and Rothenburg. Philip the brother of the landgrave Charles, augmented the family of Hesse with a very fruitful branch which has the title of Philipsthal.

The dominions of Wurtemberg are extremely fertile, and inhabited by a people of uncommon industry: the duke governs according to the laws, by which the ancestors of his subjects and the venerable states of the country endeavored to limit or prevent the exercise of arbitrary power. The population of this state amounts to 560 or 600,000; and the revenue to about 3,000,000 of florins.

The two dukes of Mecklenburg have about 2,200,000 subjects. The income of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin amounts to about 300,000 rix dollars, and that of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz to 100,000. The states of these dominions maintain, with the utmost solicitude, those rights which in other parts of the empire are so much neglected; and complain that the claims of their sovereign on the Bavarian succession have been satisfied at their expense, by the impediments thrown in the way of appeals from his tribunals.

The archbishop of Salzburg, the only person of his dignity who is not also an elector, must lament that the pious

weakness of his predecessor, misled by the artifices of selfish agents, should have deprived his delightful hills of a valuable part of their population, amounting to twenty-five or thirty thousand industrious individuals, who have been compelled to abandon their native country, in order to preserve the privilege of worshipping God according to their consciences. The archbishop now governs about 200,000 persons, and his revenue is estimated at about 1,000,000 of florins.

His neighbor, the provost of Berchtholdsgaden, has about 5000 subjects, who inhabit the shores of a picturesque lake: some of them are employed in the preparation of salt, and others in the manufacture of some elegant trifles which find a market in the East Indies.

But the circle of Swabia alone contains four spiritual and 13 temporal princes; 19 imperial prelates, 26 independent counts and lords, and 31 imperial cities: it would be impossible even to name them all in the course of so brief a survey.

The imperial cities enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, as long as the commerce between Venice and the North was carried on by way of Augsburg and Nuremburg: but the alteration which has taken place since Venice and Egypt yielded to the maritime powers, in consequence of the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope; together with the oligarchical oppressions which have in many instances destroyed the spirit of the citizens, the injurious effects of catholic and protestant intolerance, and all the petty policy of the numerous municipal governments, have destroyed their importance. Those communities of citizens so proud of their independence, those vigilant and undaunted defenders of the municipal rights, those members of the empire who were so zealously engaged in efforts to ennoble their condition and to increase their opulence, are lost amid the crowd of powerful and warlike princes, and scarcely to be noticed in Frankfort, Hamburg, and other towns of inferior importance.

Frankfort has been said to hold the same place with regard to Germany, as Dantzic to Poland: she enriches herself at the expense of those nobles and people whose

luxuries demand a supply of foreign commodities; by which means millions are accumulated in a town containing only 30,000 inhabitants; the people of Germany, however, sell scarcely a tenth part so much to foreigners as they purchase from them. Hamburg is more than three times as large as Frankfort: and as it is a sea-port, its speculations are bolder and more extensive. Denmark contended against its freedom; Holland envied its commerce, and its internal tranquillity was frequently disturbed by contests for power between the senate and the people: but all these difficulties were overcome by the perseverance, industry, and intelligence of its inhabitants. Of the three cities which still recal the memory of the great Hanseatic league, Hamburg is by far the most important. Lubeck, the second of these towns, which maintained a long struggle with the northern crowns for the dominion of the Baltic, and was frequently obliged to contend for the preservation of its independence, was not more than half as powerful as Hamburg: and Bremen, the third in importance, by its active and successful industry maintained and enriched a population nearly equal to that of Geneva.

If these considerable cities and countries, together with all those which we have not mentioned, had directed the whole influence of their population and opulence to the attainment of one common object, what an empire and people would Germany exhibit! External influence has however succeeded, by means of the most strenuous exertions, in preventing such an union from taking place, and in bestowing, on an impotent aristocracy, the name of German freedom. Both the political importance of the empire, and the liberty of its inhabitants, have suffered in consequence of this abuse: yet the multiplicity of capitals has been favorable to the pursuits of industry; and so long as the only question continues to be, whether the people shall be governed by hereditary princes or by deputies, the preference will be found to be due to the former; because the latter are only intent upon employing their transitory power for their private interests.

## SECTION XII.

### SCANDINAVIA.

Denmark, a kingdom which formerly gave laws to all Scandinavia, and which, including Norway and Holstein, is superior in extent to the monarchy of Austria, has lost a great part of its power during a long period of peace, under the sway of a succession of weak though benevolent princes. The preservation of the national reputation and the foundation of its prosperity, are to be ascribed to the excellent administrations of the elder and younger counts Bernstorf. The former conferred a most essential benefit on his country; inasmuch as, after the death of the czar Peter the Third, who as duke of Holstein had threatened the independence of Denmark, he managed, by negociation, to extirpate this root of perpetual contention and destructive wars, just at the moment when the ducal family succeeded to the supreme power in the greatest monarchy of the earth: the whole of Holstein was transferred to the court of Denmark; which, in return, gave up Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. These last hereditary estates of the kings of Scandinavia and of the future czars, are inhabited by about 75,000 individuals, and yield an annual produce of scarcely 400,000 florins: the court of Petersburg bestowed them on a younger branch of that family which resides at Eutin and administers the secularized bishopric of Lubeck.

But even including Holstein, the population of Denmark scarcely exceeds two millions, and its revenues nine millions of florins: and hence the forty thousand troops and the twenty ships of the line which constitute its military and naval force, cannot be kept in activity during a few campaigns without subsidiary aids.

Most nations have failed to reach an elevation commensurate with their resources: but Sweden, on the contrary, has sunk into a state of torpor, the effect of exertions disproportionate to her strength. While other nations appear scarcely worthy of the good fortune which has attended

them, Sweden, by her spirit and intelligence, raised herself to a pitch of political greatness, far beyond the power of her resources to maintain: even when fortune at length deserted the arms of this nation, she strove, during a long course of years and amidst the turbulence of faction, to heal the wounds inflicted by her own heroic spirit; and when at length she had lost every thing of which it was in the power of adversity to deprive her, she retained the esteem of Europe, the remembrance of her former greatness, and an internal conviction of the possibility of recovering her lost importance.

The population of Sweden, amounting to about three millions, is capable, under a prudent administration, of supporting an army of fifty thousand men; and of providing effectual means for the prosecution of such wars as may be necessary to maintain the independence of the worthy successors of the Gustavuses. This country is deficient only in that commodity of which merit is so frequently destitute, namely, in money; but even this instrument is attainable by the pursuits of industry and commerce, and by an able and assiduous attention to the political circumstances of foreign courts.

## SECTION XIII.

### POLAND.

After the *fiat* of the autocrat of all the Russias had robbed Poland of two millions of her population; after she had lost nearly an equal portion under the grasp of the imperial court; had yielded 650,000 to Prussia; and had sunk so low that she was incapable of furnishing a sufficient revenue for the necessary expenses of the state, or of supporting a moderate army, while the defects of her constitution were such as to afford no ground of hope for the future; Prussia cruelly oppressed the commerce of this devoted country, and its plains were abandoned to the arbitrary quarterings of the Russian soldiery, and became the theatre of their licentious excesses. Poland had now really

vanished from among the number of the greater powers: yet, so long as a native country existed to excite the compassion of generous minds, it was possible that Piasts, Jagellos, and Sobieskys might again arise, and the sacred flame of freedom once more break forth to "triumph and to save."

## SECTION XIV.

### THE TURKS.

The weakness of the Ottoman Porte was not owing to the want either of men or of money; but of the intelligence necessary for the successful employment of its resources. The *miri*, or imperial treasury, was filled by a capitation tax levied on all male subjects above the age of fourteen years; by productive salt-works; by crown-estates, some of which were administered on behalf of the sovereign, and some let to farm; by the customs, and the excise on coffee, tobacco and spices: the *casna*, or privy purse of the sultan, received the tributes of the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; the presents with which Ragusa purchased its security; the revenue of Egypt; a tenth of the value of such estates as were transferred by purchase; the inheritance of all such persons as died without heirs; the fines, and the confiscated property of wealthy criminals. It is not easy to estimate the amount of all these different sources of revenue; but it appears that, in ordinary times, the income exceeded the expenditure by several millions of piastres. The regular troops of this empire which had been formed in earlier and more glorious ages, and a militia whose manners and corporeal powers were preserved in a half savage mode of life, and who were therefore probably superior in vigor and fortitude to the European soldiery, accustomed to strict regulations and crowded together in barracks; supported the formidable character of the Turkish armies, so long as they retained their ancient valor and devoted attachment to the creed of Islam. The Moslem troops used to precipitate themselves with irresist-

ible impetuosity on the ranks of the infidels: secure that victory or death was already decreed as their portion, according to the counsel of the Eternally Merciful and under the protection of the great prophet. In artillery, however, in which they have always remained inferior to the Europeans, their enemies had a decided advantage. But even when repulsed they renewed the tremendous onset, and their light troops fought even in flight; until, when at length the fortune of the day had decidedly manifested itself on the side of the enemy, the contest terminated in their total dispersion. We could not, consistently with the brevity of our survey, enumerate in an instructive manner, the almost unknown names of the different corps which, together with the janissaries and spahis, constitute the Ottoman armies: and, in truth, the constitution and strength of these irregular bodies is not accurately known. Thirty-nine thousand four hundred and twenty Timariots, the descendants of the conquerors of the empire, each possessing two thousand five hundred ziamets, compose a kind of militia which in its constitution resembles that of the ancient military vassals of Europe. The number of the volunteers in the Turkish service varies according to the nature and fortune of the war in which they are engaged; and is consequently sometimes immensely great and sometimes very inconsiderable. It appears, however, that the number of regular troops may at all times be estimated at two hundred thousand.

But the interior of the empire is the theatre of incessant infractions of social order; and is fast approaching to its political dissolution. The martial spirit of the government, which in the distribution of the fiefs, of dignities and favor, chiefly regarded courage, talent and merit, seemed under the latter reigns to have given place to the cabals of the palace. The authority of the sultan, indeed, still remained uncontrolled; and he possessed the power, if not of dispensing with, at least of interpreting the political precepts of the Koran: but since the reigns of Osman the Second, of Mustafa the First and Second, of Ibrahim and Mohammed the Fourth and Achmed the Third, he frequently

trembles before his warriors, his people, and even his ennuchs.

From these circumstances has arisen a constitution, still more destructive from its neglect than its oppressions—from what it permits than from what it ordains. The army is inferior to the most undisciplined troops among the Christian armies; Syria and Egypt are in a perpetual state of revolt; the defection of the princes of Georgia remains unpunished; the insults offered by Persia, which, though in a state of anarchy, still retains its martial spirit, are endured with a disgraceful forbearance; the hereditary dominion of the Crimea has been given up; and the native seats of civilization and the sciences, the most delightful regions on the surface of the globe, are abandoned to rebels, to the excesses of an irregular militia, to the extortions of the bashaws who exercise their avaricious oppressions with impunity, and to the countless miseries attendant on a perpetually vacillating authority. This empire affords a striking example of the influence of standing armies which set themselves free from the restraints of discipline; and of the melancholy condition to which human nature is degraded, in countries where the voice of public opinion is too feeble to moderate the exercise of arbitrary power, or even to oblige it to pay any regard to decorum.

## SECTION XV.

### ASIA.

A. D. 1761. After the death of Sha Nadir, Persia experienced a long succession of cruel commotions, and endured a period of horrors still greater than those of which Germany was the theatre on the decease of Frederick the Second; until Kerim Han, partly by severity, and partly by clemency, either gained over or subdued the contending parties. A. D. 1780. His brother Saki concealed his death during several weeks; and employed this interval in putting to death, under his predecessor's name, many of the most formidable rivals of his power. The

state was now subjected to fresh convulsions; and Abulfat, the eldest son of Kerim, raised himself to the throne of his father: great numbers, however, abandoned his cause and attached themselves to different party leaders, in order to get rid of the restraints of authority. Persia, which though in a state of the utmost disorder was formidable both to its own inhabitants and its neighbors, awaits the appearance of a new Ardeshir or Cyrus.

The country which lies to the northward of the Caspian sea, appeared to be approaching an era of new splendor. The deserts which still contain the ancient memorials of unknown nations, seemed to be again becoming the residence of a numerous and wealthy population: but this fair prospect was entirely desolated by Pugatscheff, the enemy of the Russians and of every species of cultivation.

At a greater distance lie the steppes which were abandoned by the Ajukian Calmucks, to the number of 120,000. A. D. 1771. A leader of this horde, professing a divine commission, led them (as Moses formerly conducted the Israelites) towards the plains of Borötalanor, where their fathers had formerly fed their flocks. General Rytschkoff pursued them, like a second Pharoah, through sandy deserts, but in vain: the great Kienluna, emperor of the Mandshu who have reigned in China during one hundred and fifty years, allowed them to take up their residence in Dsongar, where he had lately broken the singular power of the Kontaisha: he gave them pasturage for their flocks; provided them with subsistence and money; summoned their chief men to his court; and restored among them the great council of the Tsaisang, or nobles, according to the manner of their fathers.

Kienluna stood in the same relation to the Dalai Lama of Thibet, as Joseph the Second to Pius the Sixth. The Lama is the holy father of a multitude of tribes which inhabit the country between the banks of the Volga and the furthest shores of the Corea; and his dominion consists of Butan and Pu. He revered and was revered by the emperor: but he was not able to withstand the power of Kienluna.

The boundary of China on the side of Russia, is the country in which the Tungusi, the brethren of the Mandshu, support themselves by the chase: and Kiachta is the place in which the nations assemble for the purposes of trade.

Japan continues to be inaccessible to strangers.

Very little is known concerning the extensive country situated between the Ganges and China.

The sacred shores of the Ganges, the delightful plains, the pastoral mountains and the beautiful coasts of the hither peninsula of Hindustan, have long been polluted by the bloody wars of the English and French, and inundated with the still more desolating spirit of faction: the English, however, have at length strengthened the foundations of their power by turning their attention to the ancient and revered laws of the country; and have rendered it an interesting object to the literati of Europe by their investigations. The powerful mountain-republic of the Mahrattas still maintains its existence. The acquirements of Hyder Aly in the art of war, were of dangerous consequence to the Europeans: yet the greater part of the rajahs still tremble before the British merchants, whose avarice has frequently produced effects more destructive than war or despotism, by giving rise to famines which have swept away the innocent natives by hundreds of thousands. Allum Sha, the Fourteenth successor of Timur, swayed in Delhi the sceptre of the four-and-twenty soubahdars, which compose the Mogul empire: his unsteady government, entirely dependent on the good pleasure of his British masters, resembled that of the Franks in the eleventh century.

The Arab retains his simplicity and freedom: attacked in vain by the Europeans, by the victorious arms of the great Solyman; and by the impetuous fury of Sha Nadir, he remains in precisely the same condition as in the time of Abraham and Job, and in which he always has existed, except in the moment when Arabia displayed to the astonished world, to how great enterprises so tranquil a people may be roused by enthusiasm.

## SECTION XVI.

### AFRICA.

Habesch, situated behind her inhospitable coasts and horrid deserts, remained powerful and alone.

At a still greater distance, unknown tribes of sun-burnt Africans wandered through the unexplored country of their birth, in regions which are supposed to have been the site of Paradise.

A world of islands was discovered in the South sea, which possess no other memorial of their history, than a tradition that an ancient revolution of nature has separated them from the continent.

In the country of dates, and in regions of Africa still more remotely concealed, are nations never yet visited by Europeans, the descendants of the ancient Numidians: while the military communities of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, by their courage and their skill in the choice of defensive positions, brave the attempts of the powers of Europe; and impose a tribute on those nations which are dependent on them for grain, and on those which cannot securely carry on their commerce without the permission of these pirates.

These aristocracies, like that which was founded on the rock of Malta for the purpose of maintaining against them a perpetual warfare, maintain their original spirit because they are incessantly renewed.

The sheriff of Morocco, unmolested except by the disturbances of his own family, reigns over the fifteen provinces of his empire. He is dreaded by the Moorish husbandmen, and revered by the Nomadic tribes of black or tawny shepherds.

## SECTION XVII.

### CONCLUSION.

When we embrace, in one comprehensive glance, the different families of the human race and the whole theatre of the world, we cannot avoid remarking that there are some regions of the globe and some nations, which have

not yet fully attained the condition appointed for them by destiny; which seems to have ordained, that the manifold capabilities of our nature shall be alternately developed throughout the universe, according to the various degrees of influence exercised by physical causes, and by traditional civilization. We behold revolutions which terminate either in barbarism or in slavery; we see nations which have not yet experienced the whole influence of that avarice and that lust of power displayed by Europeans; and we perceive the inhabitants of our quarter of the globe to be endowed with an energy and genius which stimulate them to the most arduous enterprises, and their actual situation to be such, that any great political convulsion would suffice to produce a sensible re-action on the most remote corners of the earth, and to fill with civilized inhabitants, regions as yet unexplored by human eyes. We are at the same time so powerful and so impotent, that on the one hand, if the people of Europe should neglect their own interests; or if they, or even individuals among them, should suddenly be inspired by any strong impulse of enthusiasm; the most important effects could not fail to be produced on the moral condition of the whole human race: and on the other, these great movements when they shall have been once aroused, will act unexpectedly, and even in despite of the will of their first authors.

However incomplete may be the display presented by this history of the secret causes, the nature and the catenation of the greatest events, it has at least sufficed to show that they have taken place under the guidance of superior counsels. Their plan indeed is unknown, their progress unsearchable: but we are able clearly to discern that fortune and power are obtained by resolution, activity, and sound judgment; and that on the contrary, sloth and irresolution, and every thing that impedes the developement of our innate powers, are the causes of destruction both to states and individuals. History is incapable of teaching what is to be done in each particular conjuncture, because the attendant circumstances are infinitely diversified; but she presents us with these general results of the experience of all nations and all ages: "Act well your